

# The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the  
Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

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MIKHAIL BAKUNIN.

(From *Donahoe's Magazine*, July, 1908.)

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

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## THE GREAT PSYCHOSIS AND AFTER.

BY T. SWANN HARDING.

PERHAPS nothing furnishes more incontrovertible evidence of the simple-mindedness of people *en masse*, and even of those whom we choose to call "intellectuals," than the eagerness with which they, in every instance, absorbed the story of the antecedents of the war precisely as propagated by their own government, as if this were the plenary inspiration of heaven. Scientists forgot the method of truth, philosophers forgot their calm, preachers forgot their ethics, politicians forgot their squabbles, statesmen forgot their preferences of yesterday, the masses cleared a single neuron path in their mind and labeled it "The War." Thereupon each and every one of them believed with profound conviction and bigotry just what his government desired him to believe—albeit propably in many instances in direct opposition to what people of countries allied with his own were taught to accept—and those who dared to think normally were held in ignominy.

The civilian war mind<sup>1</sup> that is thus created is the very factor which makes war futile by rendering conflict more important than its objects. Even the accomplishment of the aims of enlightened selfishness is hence impossible, not to mention the good and noble ends for which, officially, every war is nowadays waged. The condition is the direct heir of schoolboy boasting and smacks of Homer's bragging gods and heroes. "It consists in the unconscious and confident parade of our secret passions as authentic and disinterested standards of objective value." From the Freudian standpoint it is the discharge of repressed complexes, principal among which is the "natural tendency of a strong personal bias to usurp the throne of judgment and to pose as objective truth."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. an article by this title in the *London Nation*, reprinted in *The Living Age*, September 13, 1919, from which our quotations are taken.

As time goes on we learn to condone more and more of the things upon which we ordinarily look as heinous and autocratic. Thus America entered the war still deploring the immorality of conscription; but in a few months the very same minds which had pointed out this immorality, fabricated most awesome arguments to demonstrate the democracy of the hated institution. General Crowder took liberty after liberty with the conscription law, ignored the spirit and strained the letter, until even the President was compelled to give him tardy reproof. Nor is the War Department to be blamed; it did precisely what it had been instructed to do. The blame falls upon us—the common people of America—who, after recognizing the sins of autocracy in Germany, adopted these same methods in America and then insisted upon their democracy. It is too bold to say that the war could have been won without such measures; perhaps not. But they should have been adopted honestly and with moral reservations, not proven falsely to be part of the gospel of democracy. The impulse of the herd mind is seen in the effort to demonstrate these things to be the precise opposite of what they have normally been held to be; this mind is always illogical, always the hypocrite.

We have attained the stage of culture where personal boasting is held in little esteem and is sternly repressed. For this reason the patriotic war mind is deflected into nationalistic braggadocio. To quote the London *Nation* again on this topic, "The essence of patriotism consists, indeed, in believing somehow, not pretending to believe, that the glorification of our country (with ourselves as the secret core) is consistent with a truthful and dispassionate assessment of evidence. . . . The genuineness of the conviction that your country is absolutely right, your enemy absolutely wrong, and that your judgment in this matter is absolutely reliable, being founded on a full and fair consideration of all the evidence, is essential to the process." The fallacy of this notion is well exposed by Norman Angell in *Patriotism Under Three Flags*, a book perhaps sufficiently old to be read with safety by rather a high voltage "patriot" who might become rigid with rage at more recent revelations.

The gist of the matter is the ability to see the same act as right if done by "our" side but as wrong if done by "their" side; this takes an instinct for self-justification and a benign disregard for psychological categories, but not reason. Disregard for neutral rights in Belgium, for instance, was right to a Prussian but wrong to an Allied partisan; a similar disregard for neutral rights in China or in Greece appeared to be held wrong only in the Teuton

camp. Shift the context and you have things as you desire them regardless of absolute values.

Thus England looked upon her two-power navy as a justifiable necessity: she looked upon Germany's two-power army as a luxury and a menace. To-day we find a certain amount of compulsory military training to be a reasonable precaution in America; similar steps on the part of Germany are interpreted as sinister. As Angell says,<sup>2</sup> "Because a given purpose happens to be the nation's purpose, that of itself tends to close all discussion as to its rightness or wrongness, utility or uselessness." The German gave his individual submission to the aims of the State and conscience ceased to be conscience. Quite so. But did not the *Hibbert Journal* publish many articles which argued conscience out of court and declared plainly for unqualified submission to the State and an end to silly religious quibbling? Could this submission be wrong in Germany and right in England? It is hard to believe so.

Autocracy displaces democracy in war: it has to in order that war may be made efficiently: free speech ends and the military is supreme. Moreover, any effort to dispute the morality of the process, even while admitting its probable necessity, is treason! To suggest that anything done by our State may be wrong is also treason. Yet when Roosevelt so thunderously declared for "My country, right or wrong" he subscribed to a philosophy which would have condemned any German vile enough to have protested against the invasion of Belgium, or the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Liebknecht could not be eternally right and Bertrand Russell eternally wrong at one and the same time. No nation is as virtuous as it believes itself to be nor are its enemies as wicked as it believes them to be.

The bitter denunciations of the German spy and propaganda systems which appeared in our press furnish a further example to the point: because every power on earth, including our own, maintained an elaborate spy system. In fact, as one may see by a signed letter in the *New York Nation* of December 20, 1919, we even bade scientists act as spies, a particularly pernicious form of this practice. Furthermore, the Allies had in our country at all times a propaganda far more insidious than that of the Germans because it was infinitely less crude and blundering than that of Berlin. The copy of the *Nation* just mentioned publishes in facsimile a letter sent by the British Military Mission to various American editors. It calls attention to an "official" story of the Persian affair which is soon to be released, and asks that it be featured, adding that a

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

little favorable editorial comment "would serve a useful purpose"! This letter was dated October 23, 1919. Again, we denounce no one. Attention is merely called to facts, and, if our moral code has more than a perfunctory value, right is right and wrong is wrong regardless of nationality. Shaw was right as well as witty in condemning those who were "pacifist when a bomb dropped in Fulham but jingō when it dropped in Freiburg."

The German intellectuals who wrote a fevered diatribe in support of the wrongs of their government were justly ridiculed; yet we failed to observe that our own intellectuals were active, not only in rightfully supporting their governments, but in prostituting their ethics and their ideals in instances where the advocacy of extreme measures was both immoral and dishonest. "The eager industry with which the intellectuals of both contending herds fed them with this war-truth furnishes a valuable commentary on the subjectivity of knowledge." Shades of the *Vigilantes*!

The herd mind in action is childish, ludicrous and untempered by judgment. Enemy individualists who protest for freedom are looked upon as martyrs in the cause of right; our own advocates of individualism become fiends incarnate. The educated Japanese has the greatest difficulty in trying to comprehend why we execrate the idea of "Asia for Asiatics" while holding our own Monroe Doctrine to be natural and salutary. To us our unnecessary wars with Spain and with Mexico seem entirely to differ from Austria's predatory pugnacity toward Serbia, and yet, to an unbiased judgment (or to a Spaniard!) the difference is small indeed. The *Times* found the German invasion of Belgium most abominable; the British ruthlessness in Persia much to be questioned; but French aggression in Syria and the Saar appeared to it quite proper regardless of treaties. In each case prejudice rather than judgment ruled opinion.

Germany has been castigated for being unfavorable to arbitration at the Hague; England was notable for favoring the peaceful solution of differences. But Norman Angell pertinently asks, who had least to lose and most to gain from arbitration, the power which hungered for territory or the power which was already satiated and found excellence in the status quo? At the Hague it was always England who blocked any measure tending toward less ruthless naval warfare; but to mention this fact during the war was to be, to the herd mind, "pro-German."

The New York *Nation* has frequently been taxed with being anti-British, although its one aim has been to stand with the right



against imperialism and militarism regardless of national boundaries. The civilian war mind hates those who can see things more largely than it can, those who would rather be right than be Britains or Americans. It refuses to test evidence disinterestedly; it loathes thinkers with virulence; and it is even found among the educated. Here it is most amusing, for the average sensual man does little real thinking, and his emotions are upon so primitive a level that irrationality involves no great sacrifice.

"The abject and unconscious surrender of so many 'educated' persons to the ravages of the herd mind in the years of the war has been a disconcerting exhibition of the instability of the higher qualities of personality"; we see in them all the naive vainglory of the primitive fighting man with his "antics of self-praise and vituperation of the enemy." No sooner did war patriotism seize us than "the howling dervishes of the press proclaimed 'the holy war,' and all our intellectual and spiritual leaders ranged themselves in bands to testify, each in its proper manner, to the truth and justice of our herd's cause and the utter falsehood of all opposing pleas. Truth . . . became at once transparent; moral responsibility . . . became for this occasion simplicity itself. Our clergy were genuinely shocked at the blasphemy of the enemy in claiming that 'the holy war' was theirs, while all the time the hypocrites knew it was ours. Our philosophers were quick to trace the poison of materialism and absolutism lurking even in the text of Kant; our men of letters found even in Goethe the 'wicked will to power'; our scientists had long detected the essential barrenness of Germany for big creative ideas—finding her a nest of pilfering adapters; our historians with quick pen redrew the modern world history in black and white."

With these facts in mind it is delicious to contemplate Admiral Sims's testimony in early 1920 to the effect that we were, with commendable impartiality, ready to fight England quite as quickly as Germany! It is further interesting to find in the *Nation* of January 17, 1920, that in the rigid inquiry into the causes of the war carried on in Berlin, not only was the Kaiser shown to be wax in the hands of the blockheaded militarists of the Ludendorff type, but Bernstorff was found to have been held two weeks at Halifax *en route* home in order that he might the less effectually protest against unrestricted submarine warfare—for America was still at peace. Such was the morality of nations. Of course, it is now generally known that the Count, far from being the devil he was pictured, was a very much distracted man between the moderateness of the German Foreign

Office and the insanity of the ruthless, dishonest and vastly intriguing militarists; cf. his memoirs recently published and press reviews.

The vagaries of our press knew no bounds. It painted Japan as a democracy (a delicious morsel apparently original with the *Baltimore American*); it insisted that we must go into the war to vindicate the rights of the individual, and when we were in declared that the State had an inalienable right over the individual and admonished us to adopt the Prussian remedy for draft-resisters—acute lead poisoning, while consistently denouncing Germany for this in the next column but one. The *Nation* of November 1, 1919, records the press lies of the last ten days in regard to the war against Bolshevism, and continues, "If there remained in the world one person who still cherished the belief that the day's news bore any relation to the day's facts, he must have been disillusioned by the most recent occurrences." The *New Republic's* résumé of the *New York Times's* Russian news (issue of August 4, 1920) proves the same contention. Garet Garrett of the *New York Tribune* honestly insisted that the war could not be treated upon an intellectual plane, that it was the herd's business and must be fought out, not reasoned about. Many more liberal journals underwent a curious metamorphosis, first toward conservatism impelled by the exigencies of the herd mind, and then, after the war, slowly back toward liberalism.

Many newspapers are liberal upon matters of no moment. The *Detroit News* even desired so strongly to protest against the dangerous suppression of so-called "radicals" that it did so, protecting itself by claiming them to be insane. The *Detroit Free Press* is liberal upon matters about which it can do it no possible harm to be liberal, and the *Baltimore American*, though believed to be controlled by Roman Catholics, is very broad-minded religiously—and generally—in so far as liberalism may be made to comport well with herd desires and mass indifference.

But all papers ruthlessly shut off debate well before war begins. Before the Boer War the *Daily Telegraph* urged the suppression of all reasonable discussion and advised brickbats; the *Standard* lampooned those who desired a peaceful settlement; *The Nineteenth Century* of January, 1902, declared that free speech was dead; the *Times* refused the truthful and moderate articles of Francis Dormer and published the fierce vituperation of a Mr. Monypenny who had been in South Africa just twenty-four hours; the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *National Review* took up the refrain of death to rationalists. It was ever thus.

The *Baltimore American* long pleaded with us to go to war because we were menaced by Germany's navy; on November 10, 1917, under the caption "American Security," it published an editorial showing that a successful invasion of this country by Germany was and had always been impossible! In fact, Admiral Fletcher<sup>3</sup> declared that it was quite impossible that England herself could defeat us on the sea, while he was sure that Germany could not. Yet the strength of the German navy formed a perfectly good pro-war argument for the press, due to the mental lethargy of the people.

The press always leads in fanning the flames of hate and in repressing reason. In the press of France and of the British Empire we stood second only to Germany in the matter of being abused—until we entered the war. No insult was sufficiently gross; we were greedy for gold, pro-German, vacillant, immoral, effete and impotent. We declared war. At once we became miraculously endowed of all the virtues and good qualities known to the herd mind. We were lovers of truth and justice, stern, relentless, powerful, virile and noble. Our President was no longer a weak and ridiculous appendage of a decrepit typewriter, but a glorified being of blood and iron. We were even discovered to be using the English language correctly!

Hate, as a product of the civilian war mind, was far from a German monopoly. Discussing "Unconscious Primitive Traits in Present-Day Thought," Bradby analyzes the primitive symbolism which is back of the emotion of hatred.<sup>4</sup> It is the same old herd mind again active which kept the griffin in the animal catalog until 1675 and which made the Kaiser a symbol of all the unconscious capacities for evil of many thousands. It was the old, savage belief that things once associated still influence each other that guided those childish beings who struck German words out of books, who hung the enemy in effigy, who banned German opera, who smashed German-made crockery, who scorned Wagner and Meyerbeer and Strauss and Wundt and Eucken and Harnack and Ostwald as mere imbeciles. Unable to tear a German limb from limb they must revert to primitive symbolism; thus they beat and plundered shopkeepers with German names in reprisal for the barbarity of the German military, making responsibility for evil collective in a fashion typically Prussian. The anti-German alliance might have

<sup>3</sup> Hearings before the Committee of Naval Affairs of the House of Representatives on estimates submitted by the Secretary of the Navy in 1914.

<sup>4</sup> M. K. Bradby, *Psycho-Analysis and Its Place in Life*.

been called an alliance of common hatred; even to-day many individuals refuse to belong to an international correspondence club which admits German members. Would they bathe in the same ocean with a Teuton?

There was the hate which blazed out when Germany killed our first soldiers, quite regardless of the fact that at the same time we were shedding German blood, all of which could scarcely be avoided under the circumstances. There was (and is) the misguided truculence of the *American Journal of Industrial and Engineering Chemistry* which preached no trade with Germany until our desire for dollars got the better of our antipathy, and now rattles along militaristically for the Prussian type of preparedness. It was the bigoted and insulting character of Allied diplomatic communications which so firmly cemented the Germans as greatly to prolong the war at immense cost in money and in blood; for we paid dearly for childish hate. Even at Versailles this bitterness continued and the German responses to Allied demands were alone couched in respectable language.

So universal was hate that evidences of charity toward enemies are pleasing indeed. There might be mentioned the Berlin theater audience which softly chanted "*Nicht zu laut! Nicht zu laut!*" on the night of the capture of Antwerp, and the book by Abbé Félix Klein entitled *La guerre vue d'une ambulance*. And after all, as the aviator in *Le feu* observed, both sides apparently petitioned the same God for the "victory of right" in the same war; and President Wilson's peace appeals assumed perfect neutrality to the extent of bringing from both sides cries of "We are not as that publican there!"

In America the gentleman is the inconspicuous man who conforms; it was this instinct to conform, rather than reason, which led the American Legion to modify its ferocity when ferocity appeared to menace popularity. The war mind is most intolerant of heterodoxy and values conformity more than principle. Those crass individuals who persisted in the obstinate course of obedience to conscience were persecuted indeed—Jordan, Bryan, Holmes, Berger, Ponsonby, Russell, Morel, MacDonald, Liebknecht—men far from perfect or even absolutely right, yet every one was intellectually sincere and sought nothing save the ability to think and to speak freely. It was Lincoln and Grant who protested the Mexican War; Cobden and Bright the Crimean War; Burke and Chatham the War of Independence; Morley and Bryce and Lloyd George the Boer War. Did history vindicate the intellectual or the

herd mind? To some minds Roosevelt was pro-German;<sup>5</sup> Samuel Gompers was tremendously pro-Ally in America at a time when more reflective British Labor saw his shallow platitudes as a menace to victory and a very real force insuring German solidarity. Lansdowne's Tory letter caused the "patriots" to gnash their teeth, yet it advocated few things which were not later found to be necessary. At one time it was treasonable to ask for a restatement of war aims; a little later it became heretical not to do so. In each case the herd mind became exultant in contending that "this"—whatever it was—was just what was needed.

For the war mind is not an impartial investigator of the truth: it will "jump to conclusions arbitrarily, and we are egoistic enough to think that, because we have jumped to them, the conclusions must be right. . . . our evidence may not be good evidence, but the average sense of evidence is so light that this does not matter."<sup>6</sup> The herd mind "is a swivel-mind, easily adjustable to any point of view that is convenient. It has its sophists who reconcile collective responsibility with autocracy by telling you that servility involves consent." but it advises us to do likewise. It can readily believe two opposing things at once. When, subsequent to our entering the war, the Pope made his peace appeal, many orthodox Christians admitted that it was wrong to continue murder in a religious context but quite right in a political context. We found German colonists insidious in Brazil; much more numerous and much more impudent Italian colonists were guileless. President Irigoyen of Argentine was a "German-bought" dissimulator for endeavoring to keep his country out of the war, the policy for which we first praised and later execrated President Wilson.

The very same people who assured us of the inevitability of the Great War added that it would never have happened had it been known beforehand that England would defend Belgium, or had England had conscription—etc. *ad infinitum*. In *Pages choisies* we find Emile Boutroux saying, "Enfin la guerre est évidemment une éducation morale. . . . elle apprend, tout d'abord, à pratiquer cordialement ce devoir de tolérance en matière d'opinions." The former statement voices the attitude so abominated in Prussian militaristic

<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to remember that Roosevelt in a letter to Von Mach, November 7, 1914, said that he admired the Germans more than any other people, and that he would view the dismemberment of Germany as a calamity. Cf. Ed. von Mach, *Germany's Point of View*, p. 48.

<sup>6</sup> *The New Statesman*, "What Is Evidence"; reprinted in *The Living Age*, September 13, 1919.

philosophy; the latter is so manifest an absurdity that even a French patriot must have laughed when he penned it.

Such are the vagaries of the civilian war mind. The Germany before whom we bowed as the arbiter of fate in matters of science became a quack and a cheat. Our former deference of ignorance was pitiable enough, for it ignored the triumphs of American industry as well as the fact that scientific pioneers were not Germans—Priestley, Cavendish, Scheele, Dalton, Gay Lussac, Lavoisier; our denunciations were quite as ignorant, for the Germans were learned and intelligent. Yet these things are as nothing to other exaggerated dreams born of the opiate of hatred.

And all the time we denounced the enemy as a creature unfit for human association—i. e., association with English, Americans, French, Belgians, Serbians, Japanese, Russians and African Colonials; yet throughout the war German and Allied diplomats met regularly around a table in Holland and discussed the exchange of prisoners. The *Nation* for May 8, 1920, under "Trafficking With the Enemy in 1917," exposes the abortive Prince Sixtus effort for peace and discloses the Allies plotting merrily with the Germans. Asquith appealed to the war mind by declaring that there could be no negotiations with Germany until her crimes were avenged; but when prisoners are to be exchanged or dollars to be earned, hate evaporates and disappears, and the civilian war mind is disclosed in all its deceitful artificiality.<sup>7</sup>

We find ourselves at the close of an exhausting and a demoralizing war with a peace that is no peace. We have seen that war everywhere has its defenders, that men will fight over trivialities, that the civilian war mind is intolerant and repressive, that international law is disregarded and harsh warfare is the rule, that each nation has a naive conceit that it is God's chosen people, and that the Great War was quite like all other wars save only in immensity. What have we to show for our denial of the highest idealism in the effort to achieve intangibles by force?

Following the world's unethical, un-Christian and unnecessary debauch we have a peace of bitterness and malediction which extracts the last pound from a prostrate people and starves them to boot, while refusing altogether to confront and solve the problems that so seriously need solution. We have brought into being no New World; we have merely remapped the old and established a new balance of power. We deliberately made the winning of the war more important than its object; we refused to discuss peace

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Stead's Review*, June, 1917.

except when we discussed the impossibility of making peace; we sowed the wind and have reaped the whirlwind.

Norman Angell warned us long ago that "if we cannot, during the war, manage by discussions between ourselves to give the enemy some idea of how we propose, having destroyed his militarism, to secure his national defense, and having cut off his road to the outer world, to secure his opportunity for economic development, he will to the last gasp fight as any people. . . . for what they regard as their national existence." The enemy did fight just so until the Fourteen Points, reaffirmed in Woodrow Wilson's speech of September 27, 1918, appeared to give just these guaranties. He then surrendered. Thereupon we made a peace which utterly ignored these points (Mr. Lansing says they were not even so much as mentioned at Versailles), a peace of hate, predatory and brutal, which disarmed our enemy but not ourselves, which sowed the seeds of future wars and which was bent upon revenge alone.

On November 1, 1919, the *Nation* declared that the ratification of this peace would put us upon a moral level with the Germans who entered Belgium. Fortunately, the Senate refused to ratify, though—so great was its indifference to ethics and morality—the reasons were almost altogether political. We who declared that the Germans were without honor and that they did not keep their promises, acted just as they have in the past and visited the sins of autocracy upon democracy by trying to act as we thought a Prussian would when making peace!

If the Supreme Council "did not deliberately intend to strengthen the forces of reaction and check the growth of democratic government and institutions, it nevertheless pursued a policy which could have had no other result." A glimmer of hope is to be found in the fact that the old gentlemen who contrived this infamous pact have, one by one, been discredited. At Versailles it was assumed that the wickedness of the enemy was so great that any sort or size of injuries inflicted upon him and his posterity fell short of his deserts, and that justice consists in doing to others what you choose to think they would have done to you. Thus we emulated the ethics we claimed to have fought.

Austin Harrison superbly denounced this uneconomic peace "based on starvation" and praised America for refusing to pledge herself to fight for the "racial, linguistic, sectarian and imperial animosities, jealousies, greeds and rapacities of old Europe." He

<sup>8</sup> *English Review*, December, 1919; *Living Age*, January, 1920.

declared that we were forcing Germany back to militarism and were aiding the spread of Bolshevism by enacting this unenforceable treaty.<sup>8</sup> And then the complacently ignorant editors of America supinely say "Ah, a little harsh, 'tis true; but quite well deserved and quite capable of enforcement."

This Treaty is one of the varied discharges of our repressed war impulse; having been psychologically keyed up to do murder for a long time yet, sudden peace, without the neurotic preparation for peace that was required, compelled us to work the ire out of our systems in other directions than war. Although war still continues in many places. British battleships steam hither and yon, various nations exercise themselves martially in heterogeneous enterprises and others try to foment conflict. For a while we Allies and our late loathed Teutonic enemy stood side by side to kill Russians! Victory by arms alone, without the victory of reason and ideals, can bring about a settlement no more permanent than those previously brought about by violence.

Our ministers in some instances still preach a gospel of hate; thousands of people still wish to see the German race annihilated; thousands still imagine that all of the evil on earth was in Germany; political prisoners are still held in America; the Bolsheviki are looked upon as a reincarnation of all the evils of Kaiserdom—an interesting psychological phenomenon; France in the Saar suppresses the German nationality just as Germany oppressed the French in Alsace-Lorraine; Kreisler plays in Detroit under police protection; the American Legion defies city officials to the extent that even Mr. Taft felt called upon to warn them (although the World War Veterans are more law-abiding by far); books are still suppressed and periodicals barred from the mails. An intelligent British visitor was recently amazed at reactionary America and at our simple ignorance of the various theories of radical trend which have been well understood in Europe for decades. Our Palmers and Stevensons and Lusks lump together the lukewarm liberal, the mild socialist, the philosophical anarchist, the communist, the sovietist, the laborite and the apostle of violence, swing their clubs, call them "Reds" and go their merry, monstrous way.<sup>9</sup>

Arthur Clutton-Brock strikes the note of sanity when he says: "But, so long as we all preach at the Germans, they will never confess; so long as we say they are a people unique in wickedness, they will repeat to themselves that they are unique in virtue and oppressed

<sup>9</sup> *The Nation*, November, 1919. Cf. also Maynard Keynes, *The Economic Consequences of the Peace*.



by the envy of mankind. . . . We are not gods, with the right or power of damnation, but men, with the common promise of a humanity to which none of us yet has attained or can attain, without the help of us all."<sup>10</sup> We have, indeed, shamelessly let slip a great opportunity to remake the world; perhaps the disaster may yet be partially retrieved, but to retrieve it we must enter into the spirit of Clutton-Brock.

First of all, then, we must have a League of All Nations, and not simply a Federation of the Victors for Common Gain. And everywhere and at all times we need less emotion and more reason. National hatreds have been intensified, the most cherished ideals of humanity have been derided, man's claim to be a reasoning animal has been seriously impaired by his reaction to impulse, and a new balance of power exists. As in previous wars every contestant entered the conflict in a high burst of idealism, fighting a just, an unprovoked and a defensive war; as time progressed war inevitably brutalized, ethics were forgotten, lofty aims became shallow catch-words to pacify the masses and hatred and instinct ruled supreme. Then peace came suddenly to the world. And while fighting had developed into a science of high efficiency, no one had learned how to make a proper peace. We had so long been trained to murder and destroy and to deceive, we had so thoroughly obeyed our masters, that we did not definitely know what we were fighting for.

Thus it was that two cunning and reactionary old gentlemen of Latin blood met a pliable Welshman and an impractical American at Versailles to build a New World which was to have repaid the sorrowing peoples for their dire misfortunes. The two reactionaries desired nothing but the things wicked and unscrupulous diplomats have always desired—to grasp and to hold power and to have dominion for themselves and their party; the Welshman desired but to please everybody and generally to ingratiate himself; the American desired many good and pure and noble things but was innocent of the slightest practical knowledge of how to go about getting them; and the remaining delegates to Versailles were to all intents and purposes non-existent.

And there came from this unpropitious group of old gentlemen a peace which is no peace; a patchwork beside which the work of the Congress of Vienna appeared excellent, a cruel and barbarously primitive peace which crushed and starved the enemy with complacent savagery; a predatory peace which took as much as could be taken without disrupting the solidarity of the victors; a lying

<sup>10</sup> "The Pursuit of Happiness," *Atlantic Monthly*, December, 1919, p. 1.

peace which broke our solemn promises, which equivocated and deceived and utterly refused intelligently to face any of the great problems which so gravely demanded attention.

There have come down to us through the ages, in spite of the efforts to drown them out with the thunder of cannon and the mercilessness of derision, some words descriptive of a man who was unjustly condemned to death, who was crucified by an unctuously religious community whose self-righteousness he condemned. It was said of him that "when he was reviled, he reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not." Strange sentiments these to us now! How remote they seem to modern "Christians"!

When at length this man hung tortured upon a cross, he looked down with infinite pity upon the immeasurably petty creatures who threw dice for his raiment and who went their little path to oblivion in joyous pride, and he recognized in them people who somehow did not understand. They felt themselves duty-bound to go though with certain forms and ceremonies; to believe in certain ways and to act in a definitely prescribed manner; to smile upon those who thought as they did and to cut down without pity and without remorse those who thought and felt more than they did; and in so doing they missed all of life's higher values and lived to no true purpose. The great heart of the man on the cross comprehended all this; his profound mind looked beyond the unreflective actions of little, hysterical men, and he lifted his eyes to the great blue sky and cried "Father, forgive them for they know not what they do!"

What a beautiful story of a truly noble mind! And it is full of meaning for us to-day and every day. Those Germans who so monstrously erred, those frantic "patriots" of all nations who refused to reason, those old gentlemen at Paris who made a medieval peace while civilization tottered—did not understand. We must forgive them for their lack of understanding. But we must help to speed the day when men shall choose to reason and shall cease to be mere creatures of unbridled impulse.

## MIKHAIL BAKUNIN.

BY M. JOURDAIN.

IT is only by tracing things to their origin," writes Paine in his *Essay on Agrarian Justice*, "that we can gain rightful ideas of them," and the deepest foundations of the Russian Revolution owe much to the violence and fervid genius of Bakunin, a name less frequently in the mouths of men than that of his adversary, Karl Marx. Marx, who recognized in himself a pioneer, comes within well-known categories, and his doctrines can be clearly tabulated, but Bakunin is more elusive. He was not, in any respect, leader of a party, nor founder of a sect; his enemies did at a time label his friends Bakuninists, but these always rejected the term. Bakunin was the typical revolutionary, an expression of the spirit of Russia, which had been and is still dominated by political conditions. Only seventy years ago, Konstantin Arkasov was forbidden by the police to wear a beard because the government of the Czar, at that moment, regarded the wearing of a beard as a revolutionary symbol. Bakunin is the outcome of these conditions.

He was a Russian to the finger nails, a gigantic figure. "His was a titan's figure with leonine head," wrote Herzen, "his energy, his sloth, his great bulk, and his appetite assumed gigantic proportions." "His giant bulk, his athletic figure, his great Rabelaisian face attracted sympathy," writes another observer.<sup>1</sup> The traits of the portraits from his enemies and followers agree, though Marx and his followers insist more on Bakunin's defects, and Herzen and his intimates, on the defects of his qualities. To one, he is the "great serpent": to Herzen, "that avalanche of a Bakunin."<sup>2</sup> In his *Diary* of 1848 Herzen notes that those well acquainted with him were already saying, "He is a man of talent, but a bad character."

<sup>1</sup> B. Malon, "L'Internationale," *Nouvelle Revue*, February 5, 1884, p. 749.

<sup>2</sup> *Correspondance de Michel Bakouine* (1860-74), ed. M. Dragomanov, Paris, 1896.

The leading traits of Bakunin's character were an immense and childlike simplicity and demonic violence. As Herzen knew well, he was the wildest of dreamers. "Divorced from practical life," as Herzen wrote to him, "from earliest youth immersed over head and ears in the German idealism out of which the epoch constructed a realistic outlook 'as per schedule,' knowing nothing of Russia either before your imprisonment or after your Siberian exile, but animated by grand and passionate desire for noble deeds, you have lived half a century in a world of phantoms and illusions, student-like unrestraint, lofty plans and petty defects. . . . When after ten years you regained liberty, you showed yourself to be as of old, a mere theorist, a man utterly without clear conceptions, a talker, unscrupulous in money matters, with an element of tacit but stubborn epicureanism and with a persistent itch for revolutionary activity." Yet, "there was something childlike, frank and simple in his nature which was peculiarly charming," according to Herzen, who was no prejudiced observer.

He was avid of anarchy, uneasy when leading a calm life: after his stay in Siberia he cries: "I was not made for this calm and peaceful existence, and after having been condemned, against my will, to so many years of rest, it is time for me to plunge again into active life."<sup>3</sup> Now in England, now in France, now in Germany, Italy and Switzerland, he is always the prey of a revolutionary fever, in which agitation took the place of action. He had an immense confidence in human passions, and wished for a millennium in which the triumph of the proletariat would give free scope to those dammed up by social conditions. One of the phrases he was fond of repeating to his friends was: "We must let loose evil passions." In 1848 he wrote: "We need something very different from a constitution; we need storm and life, a world that is lawless and consequently free."<sup>4</sup> In Gue's *Reminiscences* we are told that Bakunin was asked what were his aims and beliefs. "I believe in nothing," was the answer, "I read nothing. I think of but one thing: twist the neck, twist it yet further, screw off the head; let not a trace of it remain." The same spirit, of which he was fully conscious, burns in the form of his work. He begs that a manuscript he has submitted may remain in its unattenuated violence, because, he says, "it is part of my nature, and nature cannot be transformed."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in Masaryk, *The Spirit of Russia*, Vol. I, p. 457.

<sup>5</sup> *Correspondance*, p. 287.

His violence at moments was closely akin to the fervor of madness, and to some of his friends his feverish temperament, his brusque transitions from love to hatred of his fellow men seemed the symptom of a restless and unbalanced imagination. Blind to the real nature of the men he came in contact with, he was equally devoid of real knowledge of the world he lived in, and when living in a villa near Locarno, he had thoughts of boring a tunnel through which his followers could make their entry unnoticed into Italy and organize a rising! His strange credulity, his desultoriness, his rashness and Slav torpor were characteristic of a man who expects a miracle—the miracle of revolution. As a set-off against his impulsiveness, his ignorance of the real, his often aimless and turbulent activity, it must be said that he never shrank from the risks of his actions and was always willing to set his life upon a cast, a quality which deserves recognition when contrasted with the hesitating Herzen and the calculating Marx.<sup>6</sup>

Bakunin's life, like his temper, was stormy. He was born in 1814; his father, a wealthy retired diplomatist, lived at his estate in the government of Tver, his mother was related to Muraviev-Apostol, one of the executed Decabrists. He entered the School of Artillery in St. Petersburg, and was sent as an ensign to a regiment stationed in the government of Minsk where he found barrack life monotonous and spent a great deal of the day on his bed in his dressing-gown.<sup>7</sup> The Polish insurrection had just been crushed. This, according to Guillaume, "acted powerfully on the heart of the young officer, and contributed to inspire in him the horror of despotism." At any rate, he resigned his commission in 1834 and went to Moscow where he threw himself into the study of German philosophy and became a devout Hegelian. In 1839 he was still a Hegelian, and Ogareff, who was then in Moscow, speaks of him to Herzen as "plunged in the philosophy of Hegel when he is by himself; and if he is in company, he is immersed in chess, so that he is deaf to the conversation."<sup>8</sup> Ogareff and Herzen lent Bakunin a considerable sum to allow him to continue his studies in Berlin, and this was the beginning of a prolonged stay outside the borders of Russia, in Berlin, Dresden and Paris. In 1842 he was a confirmed revolutionary, as we see by his article in the *Deutsche Jahrbücher*, under the pseudonym of Jules Elizard. The

<sup>6</sup> Masaryk, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 479.

<sup>7</sup> *Correspondance*, Preface, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 10.

Russian government demanded him to return, and on his refusal, deprived him of his civil rights. Bakunin removed himself to Paris from 1843 to 1847, years which were important in the formation of his opinions, for it was in Paris that he met Proudhon, and also Marx and Engels, his lifelong antagonists.

In November, 1847, as the result of a speech at a Polish banquet commemorating the rising of 1830, Bakunin was expelled from France at the instance of the Russian ambassador Kisseleff, and the report was circulated that he was a secret agent of the Russian government, disavowed because he had gone too far. After a short stay in Brussels he returned to Paris after the February revolution and flung himself heart and soul into the organization of the workers. Caussidière, who hoped to "create order out of chaos," was somewhat embarrassed by Bakunin's zeal and said of him: "What a man! the first day of a revolution he is a treasure; the next day he ought to be shot." After leaving Paris he attended the Slav Congress at Prague, was leader of the Prague rising, and afterward took a leading part in the rising at Dresden which dominated that city for five days in May, 1849. Bakunin, who had been almost dictator in this brief space, was captured, at the same time as Richard Wagner; and his vivid and restless career was changed for the bitter lot of a prisoner.

He was condemned to death by the Saxon government in January, 1850, but the sentence was commuted and he was delivered to Austria which claimed the privilege of dealing with him. Again he was condemned to death, and the sentence was again commuted. Finally the Russian government in its turn claimed him, and from 1851 to 1854 he was imprisoned at St. Petersburg. He was visited in prison by Count Orlov, who told him that Czar Nicholas wished to have his confession. Bakunin, knowing that he "was at the mercy of the bear, that his activities were well known and that there was nothing to hide," wrote a letter to the Czar. According to Herzen the Czar said on reading this, "He is a good fellow and clever: he ought to be kept behind prison-bars." Later Alexander II struck Bakunin's name from the list of offenders to whom amnesty was granted. At another prison, Schlüsselburg, he suffered from scurvy and his health broke down completely; finally, after eight years of prison life, he was exiled to the comparative freedom of Siberia, whence he escaped by way of Japan and America to London.

For some years he lived in Italy, where he founded the Alliance of Socialist Revolutionaries. In 1867 he took part in the Congress of the League of Peace and Liberty at Geneva, and drew the

League's attention to the newly founded International Working Men's Association. Bakunin did not at first believe that the latter would prove a success, and did not join it until 1868. His later exclusion from the Internationale, in 1872, was but a symptom of the conflict between Bakunin's group and the followers of Marx. The two men were antipathetic. Bakunin, who always recognized Marx's superior and systematic genius, who translated the Communist Manifesto for Herzen's *Kolokol* and began to translate the first volume of Marx's *Kapital*, distrusted Marx's temperament, which was lacking, as he believed, "the instinct for liberty." "I have always praised him," Bakunin writes to Herzen, "and more than that, I have recognized his greatness."<sup>9</sup> "I should never forgive myself if I had tried to destroy or weaken his beneficial influence, for the pleasure of revenging myself on him."<sup>10</sup> "He calls me," Bakunin once wrote, "a sentimental idealist, and he was right; I called him vain, treacherous and sly, and I was also right." The Bakunist following accused the German group of Socialists of self-seeking and trafficking for the prizes of civilization, and of carefulness for forms of law and order, while on the other hand the Marxian group accused their opponents of having no sound ideas of law or order, and of being visionaries and anarchists. By this time Bakunin's health was broken, and except for short intervals his last years were passed in retirement at Lugano in a villa lent him by Cafiero. In 1876, the old revolutionary, who would have preferred death on the barricades, died peacefully in a hospital at Berne.

Bakunin's written work, like his life, is fragmentary and interrupted. He was an organizer of revolts in which he stood in the forefront of the barricades, and most of his writing was done in the feverish interval between two insurrections. He was, as he himself said, no artist, and was quite without the shaping and architectonic gift.<sup>11</sup> His writings are chaotic, largely aroused by some passing occasion, abstract and metaphysical, except when they deal with current politics. "He does not come to close quarters with economic facts, but dwells usually in the regions of theory and metaphysics."<sup>12</sup> His essay in the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* is a

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 288.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 391.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 892: "Je ne suis pas artiste, et le talent d'architecte en littérature me fait complètement défaut" (1869).

<sup>12</sup> E. Russell, *Roads to Freedom*, p. 62.

vivid expression of the revolutionary mood of his circle and his day, and is interesting from its philosophical conception of democracy as an outlook on the universe, a spirit moving upon the face of the waters. "The essence, the principle of democracy is the most general, the most all-embracing, the most intimate of factors; it is what Hegel speaks of as the spirit which reveals itself and develops itself in history."<sup>13</sup> His hopes are set on the imminence of revolution; in Russia he saw lowering clouds gathering, the heralds of storm: "The atmosphere is sultry and pregnant with tempests. To the proletariat we say: 'Open the eyes of your mind, let the dead bury their dead, realize at last that the spirit, the ever-young, the ever-reborn is not to be discovered in mouldering ruins!' To the compromisers we say: 'Throw open your hearts to the truth, clear your minds from pitiful and blind wisdom, free yourselves from the theorist's arrogance and the slave's dread, which have withered your souls and paralyzed your movements!' Let us put our trust in the eternal spirit which only destroys and annihilates because it is the unsearchable and eternally creative source of all life! The desire for destruction is also a creative desire."<sup>14</sup> Even more fragmentary is his *God and the State*, the most detailed of his philosophical writings published, which breaks off abruptly. The thesis is the development of his simple statement that the Church and the State were his two bugbears. The State is a stumbling-block in the way of liberty, for it guarantees the *status quo*—"to the rich, their wealth, and to the poor, their poverty." The Church is the main prop of the State, and must therefore be destroyed. "If God exists, man is a slave; but man can and must be free, therefore God does not exist." "As slaves of God, men must likewise become slaves of Church and State, in so far as State is sanctified by Church." Atheism is therefore to him a prime necessity, and in the program for the Peace Congress at Geneva (1867) antitheology was set besides federalism and socialism as the third essential demand.<sup>15</sup> He amusingly turns Voltaire's famous saying inside out: "If God really existed, it would be necessary to abolish him."<sup>16</sup>

The State is the cause of civil and external war, and is the "most flagrant, cynical and complete negation of humanity."<sup>17</sup> Baku-

<sup>13</sup> Masaryk, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 437.

<sup>14</sup> "L'empire knouto-germanique" (2d edition), *Œuvres*, Vol. III, p. 160.

<sup>15</sup> Masaryk, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 446.

<sup>16</sup> *God and the State*, London, 1910, p. 16.

<sup>17</sup> "Fédéralisme, socialisme et antithéologisme," *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 148.



nin's medicine for the real world of society was revolution and the destruction—pandestruction he calls it—of the existing order. There is no doubt he found a childish and acute pleasure in the stimulus of revolutionary activities, in the hubbub of insurrections, the tumults of the streets and public places, the tremor of anticipation and preparation, the agitated and continuous meetings and all-night sittings of committees, even in the minor weapons of the revolutionary, invisible ink and cypher. In attempting to formulate the philosophic principles of revolution, he goes so far as to presuppose an unborn need of revolt as a primary psychical element.<sup>18</sup> When actual revolutionary activities were impossible, he would find a cognate pleasure in the passionate negation of the social order.

He had no approval for reform and repair of the fabric of the State as it stood, but aimed at revolution from the prime foundation. Our State, he writes, "has nothing organic in it, and is held together mechanically. When it begins to break up, nothing can arrest the process, and sooner or later this Empire is bound to make an end of itself."<sup>19</sup> Total disorganization and destruction, chaos, pandestruction is to him a prerequisite of the new heaven and a new earth, the new society that will spontaneously upbuild itself from the ashes of the old order. Private property as well as the State must be destroyed, and Bakunin does not hesitate to speak of this anarchy as the "complete manifestation of the folk-life," and from this soil he expects absolute equality to flower. Forms of life, he imagined, would spring up from the soil thus deeply ploughed; and he inveighed against those who asked for an indication of the conditions of the future society. "It seems to us criminal that those who are already busied about the practical work of revolution should trouble their minds with this nebulous future, for such thoughts will merely prove a hindrance to the supreme cause of destruction."<sup>20</sup> To him as to some other passionate visionaries, the end justifies all means; poison, the knife and the noose were permitted in the holy war, "for the revolution sanctifies all equally." Terrorism he considered an accelerating instrument and a means of producing general panic. Of some of his methods Bakunin, to judge by a letter written in 1874, seems to have wearied, for his final word is that "no solid, no living structure can be built upon a foundation of jesuitical deception, and revolutionary actions must not rely upon vile and

<sup>18</sup> See letter of Herzen, quoted in *Correspondance*, Preface, p. 67.

<sup>19</sup> *Correspondance*, p. 244.

<sup>20</sup> Masaryk, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 452.

base passions. The Revolution will never triumph unless it has a humane and high ideal."<sup>21</sup>

Influenced, no doubt, by his profound difference with Marx and his sympathy with Latin races, Bakunin distrusted Germany, the type of the sovereign and autocratic State. "In Germany," he writes, "one breathes the atmosphere of an immense political and social slavery, philosophically explained and accepted by a great people with deliberate resignation and free will. Since her definitive establishment as a unitary power, she has become a menace, a danger to the liberty of entire Europe. To-day, Germany is servility, brutal and triumphant."<sup>22</sup> In the Franco-Prussian War, he feared that the victory of Prussia would make an end of European progress for half a century,<sup>23</sup> and a few years later declared that he had set his hopes on the Slavs and Latins, who were to react against Pan-Germanism.

He, like Herzen, looked on the Russian people as predestined to establish the social revolution. His writings are blank as far as constructive ideas are looked for; at one moment he considers the significance of the Russian *mir*, a village community. In the opinion of the folk, he said, the soil belongs to the folk alone, to the tillers of the soil, and this outlook enfolds all the social revolutions of the past and future. By instinct, he continues, the Russians are socialistic, by nature they are revolutionary; the Russians therefore will institute the freedom of the world.<sup>24</sup> In 1866, however, he had strongly criticized Herzen's mystic belief in the Russian *mir* from which he hoped so much, and speaks of its arbitrary and despotic patriarchalism, the complete repression of the individual and the corruption of its members, always ready to sell right and justice for ten liters of brandy.<sup>25</sup>

Bakunin's stock of ideas was borrowed, for he assimilated those of others with facility. After subtracting what he owes to Feuerbach, to Auguste Comte, to Proudhon and to Marx, there is little small change left. What remains is his fervor, his belief in the imminent revolution that was so intense that he mistook, in Herzen's phrase, the second month of gestation for the ninth. No one could approach him without catching, if but for a time, his

<sup>21</sup> *Correspondance*, p. 379.

<sup>22</sup> *God and the State*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>23</sup> "Lettre à Esquiros," (*Œuvres*, Vol. IV, p. 233.

<sup>24</sup> Masaryk, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 460.

<sup>25</sup> *Correspondance*, p. 223.

revolutionary fire. The final word upon him is Belinski's who speaks of his "savage energy, restless, stimulating and profound mobility of mind, his incessant striving for remote ends, without any gratification in the present; even hatred for the present and for himself in the present; ever leaping from the special to the general." And in another context he admits that Bakunin has sinned and made many mistakes, but that there is something in him that wipes away all his faults of character, "the principle of eternal movement hidden in the very deeps of his soul."

## THE COSMIC PARTHENOGENESIS.

BY LAWRENCE PARMLY BROWN.

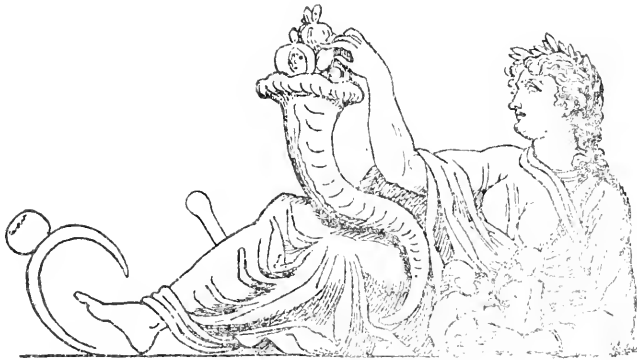
### I.

THE mythic parthenogenesis is primarily referable to the earth as the great mother whose progeny includes not only all things in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, but also the sun, moon and stars as supposed to be living beings. This preternatural genesis is rarely abiogenesis or spontaneous generation (as in the case of the Egyptian Net or Neith—see below), and strictly speaking, in accordance with the meaning of the word "parthenogenesis," it is never epigenesis of normal character (as in the multitude of stories in which the celestial sire has a philoprogenitive role, either as anthropomorphic or in some metamorphosis). The mythic parthenogenesis, on the contrary, is generally epigenesis in which the paternal progenitor operates from a distance; and thus with the cosmic man, or the heaven (or sometimes the sun or moon) as the paternal figure, inseminating elements or intermedia are recognized in rain, dew, light, heat, wind, lightning, thunder, etc., and even in the setting sun—as also in certain symbols and personifications of these intermedia. In some myths they appear without reference to their source, as if independent potencies, while in others a transporting agent or messenger between heaven and earth is introduced.

The earth as the parthenogenous mother of all things is properly ever-virginate, with her solar offspring sometimes considered the first-born, and even the only-begotten; and she is not infrequently represented as an indevirginate wife. The idea of a periodical revirgination of the earth-mother appears to be found in only one extant story, according to which Hera (Juno) was revirginated annually by bathing in a spring called Canathus, at Nauplia in the Peloponnesus—a story which Pausanias says is a secret one, borrowed from a mystery which the Argives celebrated in honor of the goddess (II, 38, 2). It was probably of Oriental origin, for Hera

was fabled to have bathed in a spring in Mesopotamia after her marriage to Zeus, whence the spot was said to be ever fragrant with perfume, while shoals of tame fishes gamboled in the water (*Ælian, Nat. An.*, XII, 30). It is not improbable that the annual bathing of the goddess originally belonged to the rainy season of winter and spring, with the rain supposed to be the cause of the renewal of the earth's vegetation, and thus also of her rejuvenation and revirgination; but it appears that in some parthenogenesis myths the bathing-place is identified with the western division of the earth-surrounding ocean-river, with the setting sun as the original inseminating intermedium.

Mythology, folk-lore and pseudo-history abound in stories of parthenogenesis; the following examples being the most ancient and the most transparently related to the nature mythos. (For many



GÆA AS THE BOUNTIFUL MOTHER.

(After Conze, *Götter und Heroengestalten*, II, Pl. 56, fig. 2.)

similar stories in the later legends of various peoples, see especially De Charencey, *Le folklore dans les deux mondes*, pp. 121-256; Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asiens*, Vol. I; Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, Vol. I, and *Primitive Paternity*, Vol. I.)

The personified Æther (the upper blue region of space) was closely assimilated to the cosmic man by the Greeks, some of whom recognized him as the father of the heaven, earth and sea, while in the *Orphic Hymns* he is the primordial spirit and soul of the universe. Lucretius says that "we are all sprung from celestial seed: the father of all is the same Æther, from whom, when the bountiful earth has received the liquid drops of moisture, she, being impregnated, produces the rich crops and the joyous groves and the race of men. . . . on which account she has justly obtained the name of

mother" (*De Rer. Nat.*, II, 998—cf. Ecclesiasticus xl. 1, where the earth is "the mother of all things"). According to Ovid, in the springtime "almighty father Æther descends in fertilizing showers into the bosom of his joyous spouse. . . Then bounteous earth is teeming to the birth" (*Georg.*, II, 32—following Æschylus, *Frag. Danaid.*, frag. 38, Dind.; and Euripides, *Frag. Chrysipt.*, frag. VI, Dind.) Zeus was also a sender of rain (Jupiter Pluvius); and he was sometimes identified with the rain itself as the inseminator of both Ceres for the earth and Proserpina for vegetation (Arnobius, *Adv. Gent.*, V, 32, 35). He took the form of a shower with Imandra, daughter of Geneanus, at Rhodes (according to the *Clementine Recognitions*, X, 22). In the *Rigveda*, Indra as the sender of rain is Parjanya, the fertilizer of all living things (V, 83, 1, 7; VII, 102, 2; cf. VIII, 6, 20). The original Cretan Curetes, "children of the earth" (Diodor., V, 65), are said by Ovid to have sprung from the earth after a plenteous shower (*Met.*, IV, 281). The Pueblo Indians fabled that the celebrated Montezuma was engendered by a fertilizing shower that fell upon his parthenogenous mother as well as upon the earth after a great drought and famine; and the Pimas related that their first ancestor came from a raindrop and the goddess of maize (Bancroft, *Native Races*, III, pp. 174, 312).

In another view, the fecundating rain becomes a liquor received by the mythic mother in the form of drink. Vishnu's fourfold incarnation as Rama, Bharat and the twins Laksman and Satrugna is effected when the three mothers, wives of King Dasaratha, drink celestial liquor from a golden bowl brought by a messenger from the Lord of Life; this messenger being a vast and splendid form of light that arises from the flame of a sacrifice, bearing the bowl (*Ramayana*, I, 15, 19). In the *Rigveda*, the fermented soma juice is called "the fecundating power of the rain-shedding steed" (for the wind or the cloud—I, 164, 35); and according to an Iranian legend, Zarātust (Zoroaster) owed his origin to a drink of *hom* (= soma) juice and cow's milk, respectively infused with his guardian spirit and glory ("Selections of Zad-Sparam," in *Sacred Books of the East*, V, p. 187). Here the rain is also identified with the milk of the celestial cow; and according to another legend, Zoroaster first appeared as the foliage on the tree of life, which was eaten by a cow whose milk as the only food of the future prophet's father effected the incarnation of the prophet, while in this legend the name of the mother is given as Daghdo and interpreted "milk" (Malcolm, *History of Persia*, pp. 192, 193—but the name is properly Dughda = daughter; see *Bundahish*, XXXII, 10, etc.). It is also held that

Hushedar, Hushedar-mah and Soshians, the three sons of Zoroaster, will be born as the Messiahs of three future millennial cycles, after the parthenogenous mother has drunk of the water in which she bathes—the same having been fertilized long previously and thence kept fertile by a miracle of preservation (*Bund.*, XXXII, 8, 9; *Dinkard*, VII, etc.). According to a Hindu myth, the mother of the human race arose out of the subsided waters of the primordial deluge, which were fertilized by a sacrifice of curdled milk and whey thrown into them by Manu (Weber, *Indische Studien*, I, p. 161).

Again, in the *Rigveda*, the earth is fertilized when the Maruts (winds) emit their perspiration in the form of rain (V, 58, 7); and in Norse mythology the first man and woman are created from the perspiration under the left arm of Ymir, the cosmic giant (*Elder Edda*, "Vafthrudnismal"; *Younger Edda*, Foreword, IV, 6). According to some of the Egyptians, the goddess Tefnut (= the wet Nut or rainy heaven) as a daughter of Tem or Amen-Ra, was produced *ab urina* (see Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 318; II, p. 88). The constellated giant Orion (Akkadian, Uru-anna = Light of heaven) was generally associated with rain-storms; and some supposed that the original form of the name was Urion, *ab urina*, whence the Latin fable that the earth-born Orion was engendered by nicturated wine from Jupiter, Neptune and Mercury (Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 493 seq.). In some Hindu myths, the insemination of the earth-mother is accidental, and incidental to a symbolized storm struggle—as in the variant accounts of the genesis of Drona and Kripa, originally for the sun and moon (*Mahabharata*, I, 5078-5086, 5103-5106; Wheeler, *History of India*, I, p. 78; Williams, *Sansc. Lex.*, s. v. Kripa; Goldstücker, *Sansc. Dict.*, s. v. Ayonija; De Gubernatis, *Zoo. Myth.*, I, p. 250). Similar stories are told of the earth-born Erichonius, son of Hephæstus, the Greek god of fire (Apollod., III, 14, 6; Hygin., *Poet. Ast.*, II, 13); of the earth-born Agdistis, son of Zeus (variant versions in Pausanias, VII, 17, 5, and Arnobius, *Adv. Gent.*, V, 5); of the earth-born Centaurs, progeny of Zeus (Nonnus, *Dionys.*, V, 14), and even of Mohammed as son of a king of India and a Brahman's daughter (in a Hindu legend—see Wilford, in *Asiatic Researches*, IX, p. 159).

In the *Rigveda* it is said that Agni (as the fire or heat of the sun) fecundates the young plants, so they bring forth fruit (III, 55, 5), and he is called "the embryo of the earth-fertilizing rain" (*ibid.*, V, 14, 10). Some of the Greeks believed that the first human beings were produced by the earth, warmed by the sun (Diodor.,

I, 7; Pausan., VIII, 29, 3), as also did some of the Orinoco Indians (Gumilla, *Histoire de l'Orénoque*, I, p. 175). Again, after the Deucalion deluge the earth brought forth a new brood of creatures from the mud heated by the sun—according to Ovid, who explains that “when moisture and heat have been subjected to a due mixture . . . all things arise from these two,” as from the Egyptian fields after the subsidence of the Nile inundation (*Mct.*, I, 415 seq.). In the generation of the Hindu savior Karticeya, son of Mahadeva, we find Agni taking the form of a dove (apparently for a cloud) as the transporting agent between heaven and earth—or, as the story goes, between Mahadeva and the river Ganges, from which Karticeya arose in due time (Moor, *Hind. Panth.*, pp. 51, 89). Quite similar, again, is the genesis of Aphrodite (as the planet Venus), daughter of Uranus (the heaven), in the foam (*aphros*) of the sea; but here we have the mutilation of the celestial sire by Cronus with his (lightning) sickle, and the casting of the propagatorium into the waters; while the earth-born Erinyes or Furies, the Giants and other storm figures are generated from the blood of the mutilated Uranus (Hesiod, *Theog.*, 170-190). In Egyptian mythology, the sun-god Ra is self-mutilated, and from the drops of his blood spring certain gods (*Book of the Dead*, XVII, Theban Recension, 60-64; Saïte, 23, 24; cf. Budge, *Gods*, II, pp. 99, 100); while according to Ovid, the first human beings were produced by the earth from the blood of the Giants (*Mct.*, I, 156 seq.). Mushrooms were supposed to spring from the earth when fertilized by rain—or thunder, according to some—and the first inhabitants of Corinth were fabled to have been produced from rain-engendered mushrooms (Ovid, *Mct.*, VII, 392).

Plutarch says: “The agriculturists call the lightning the fertilizer of the waters, and so consider it . . . and their union is the cause of vital heat” (*Sympos.*, IV, 2). According to Herodotus, the Egyptians affirmed that the cow-born Apis bull was generated by lightning (III, 28); as was the Chinese emperor Fu-Paou when his mother witnessed a vivid flash that surrounded the constellation of the Great Bear (Legge, *Chinese Classics*, III, Pt. I), and also Alexander the Great according to one account preserved by Plutarch (*Alex.*, 2—where the legend is to the effect that the mother, Olympias, dreamed that a thunderbolt fell upon her and was divided into flames which dispersed themselves on all sides). In the lightning we probably have the primary suggestion for the fecundating fire of other myths. According to some, Zeus, the wielder of the thunderbolts, assumed the form of a flame of fire when he generated Æacus, whose mother Ægina is a personification of the island of that name (Ovid, *Met.*,



VI, 113) ; and in one story of the genesis of Dionysus, whose mother was Semele, the form of fire was again assumed by Zeus—according to the *Clementine Recognitions* (X, 22) and *Homilies* (V, 14). In the *Āitareya Brahmana* various deities originate from burning coals, which Prajapati produces from himself by a certain transmutation (III, 34). In an ancient Italian story, Cæculus, whose mother is unnamed, is engendered by a spark of fire from a hearth, and is called a son of Vulcan (Serv. *ad Æn.*, VII, 678). In one legend of the origin of King Servius Tullius of Rome, whose mother is the beautiful captive Ocrisia, he is generated by an apparition of appropriate form that appears in the fire on an altar in the royal household; and either the household genius or Vulcan is said to have been his father (Pliny, *H. N.*, XXXVI, 70; Ovid, *Fasti*, VI, 625-636). The same apparition reappears in one of the legends of the genesis of Romulus and Remus, but here it rises out of the hearth in the house of Tarchetius, King of Alba, and stays there many days. The king commands his own daughter to go to the apparition, but she sends her serving maid. Both are imprisoned and enjoined in their chains to weave a web of cloth, with the understanding that they shall be permitted to marry when it is finished; but what they weave by day the king has others unravel by night—which identifies the women as figures of day and night, the weavers of the two celestial canopies which are alternately produced and destroyed. The serving maid (for the night) becomes the mother of the twin brothers Romulus and Remus (for the sun and moon), who are exposed by the riverside (for the eastern division of the earth-surrounding ocean); suckled by a wolf and fed by birds; rescued and reared by a cowherd, etc. (Plut., *Rom.*, 2).

In the Old Testament, the dew refreshes the land and makes it fruitful (Ps. cxxxiii, 3; Hos. xiv, 6, 7, etc.). In one passage of the *Rigveda*, the earth-mother, "desirous of progeny," is inseminated by the dew (I, 164, 8), as was supposed to be the case with oysters that produce pearls (Pliny, *H. N.*, IX, 45). According to some, Montezuma was engendered by a dewdrop from the Great Spirit (Bell, *New Tracts in North America*, I, p. 199); and one legend of the Chinese emperor Yu attributes his origin to a pearl that fell from heaven upon his virgin mother (De Charencey, *Le folklore*, etc., p. 202; but a variant legend substitutes a falling star in the case of Yu—De Guignes, *Dynasties des Huns*, I, p. 7). As dew falls most abundantly on cloudless nights, it was supposed to come from the moon, and was called the daughter of Zeus and the moon (Plut., *Quæst. Conviv.*, III, 10; Macrobi., *Sat.*, VII, 16). Plutarch tells

us that the Apis bull, as the living image or incarnation of the lunar Osiris, was engendered by a ray of light from the moon (*De Iside*, 43; *Sympos.*, VIII, 1); and the human "moon-calf" was anciently held to be of lunar genesis (Pliny, *H. N.*, X, 64, etc.).

"Light is the emblem of generation," according to Plutarch (*Quaest. Rom.* 2), who doubtless refers to the light of the sun; for that luminary is often represented as the father of all living things (Macrob., *Sat.*, I, 27; Euseb., *Præp. Evang.*, III, 13, etc.). According to some, the Apis bull was engendered by a ray of sunlight and was a son of Ptah (Bonwick, *Eg. Bel.*, p. 108). In a Siamese legend, the sunbeams fall upon a beautiful virgin while prostrate in prayer, thus generating the man-god and savior Codom, who is cradled in the folds of a lotus (a solar flower) that opened to receive him (Squier, *Serpent Symbol*, p. 185, note). According to one account, Gautama Buddha, son of the virgin Maha-Maya, owed his origin to a ray of light, and was received at birth in a (solar) golden bowl sent from heaven by Brahma (De Guignes, *Histoire des Huns*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 224). Some attributed the genesis of Zoroaster to a heavenly light that fell in the night upon the sleeping Dogno (Dughda) of Babylon, while in a dream she saw a bright messenger from Oromazes who laid magnificent garments at her feet (Tavernier, *Voyages*, II, p. 92); but others said that Zoroaster was generated by a ray of the Divine Reason (Malcolm, *History of Persia*, I, p. 494). Genghis Khan, the first of the Mongol emperors, called "Son of the Sun" (like the Egyptian kings), was fabled by some to have been one of triplets generated by a threefold visitation of blinding light in a dark room, as affirmed by the widowed mother (Petis de la Croix, I, 1; Higgins, *Anacalypsis*, II, p. 353). In the view of Julian the Apostate, Jupiter generated Æsculapius from himself, "but he was unfolded into light on the earth through the prolific power of the sun" (Cyril of Alexandria, *Contra Jul.*); but other mystics taught that the human Æsculapius proceeded from a god of the same name, who subsists in Apollo (see Taylor's *Iamblichus*, p. 19, note).

The sunlight, like the sun itself, is often considered of a golden hue; and Zeus descended in the form of a shower of gold as the divine progenitor of the solar Perseus, whose mother Danaë (for the earth in winter as at night) was imprisoned at the time by her father Acrisius (the "dark" or "gloomy"). Mother and child were set adrift on the (originally celestial) sea in a chest, but reached a distant shore in safety (Soph., *Antig.*, 944 et seq., Apollod., II, 4, 1; Horace, *Carm.*, III, 16; Pausan., II, 23, 7; etc.; for variant imita-

tions, see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, III, pp. 220, 221). The sunlight, again, is not infrequently considered the golden (yellow), red or white hair of the sun-god; and in Hindu mythology Mahadeva produces heroes from the dust of the earth when he strikes it with his hair during a combat with Daksha (Moor, *Hindu Panth.*, I, p. 107). Black hair is sometimes assigned to the night, in contradistinction to white hair for the day; and the Hindus fabled that the cosmic Vishnu plucked a black and a white hair from his own head and caused them to descend to earth as intermedia in the genesis of Balarama and Krishna respectively (*Mahabharata*, "Adi Parvan," 7306-7308; *Vishnu Purana*, V, 1). Balarama, who came from the black hair of night, is apparently a lunar figure, while Krishna, from the white hair of day, is unquestionably of solar character; and they are represented as the seventh and eighth *amsas* (= portions) or *avatars* (= descents) of Vishnu, as well as the seventh and eighth sons of the imprisoned Devaki (primarily for the earth at night), wife of Vasudeva (probably for the heaven). In the *Vishnu Purana* we also have the ante-natal transference of Balarama and Krishna from Devaki to Rohini and Yasoda respectively; and this occurs at midnight (IV, 15), as doubtless suggested by a cosmic engendering in the west and parturition in the east—primarily at sunset and sunrise (for Krishna), but also at the setting and rising of the moon (for Balarama). The same idea appears in the *Book of the Dead*, where the deceased as identified with Horus declares that he was conceived by Sekhet and delivered by Net (LXVI.—both Recensions), and again in the ante-natal transference of Dionysus to the thigh of Zeus (Apollod., III, 4, 3; Ovid, *Met.*, III, 310, etc.). Hair is replaced by the feathers of birds; and Huitzilopochtli or Mexitl, the Mexican god of war, was generated by a little gaily colored ball of feathers that floated from heaven to Coatlicue, a most devout woman. Her divine son was born full-grown and armed (like Pallas Minerva), and adorned with feathers like the humming-bird; indeed that bird is said to be represented by the fecundating ball of feathers, which in all probability was originally solar, like Neekris (= the Ball), father of Nanna, in Norse mythology (Bancroft, *Native Races*, III, pp. 289, 296, 310, 318).

In another view, the setting sun (or occasionally the moon) becomes the inseminating intermedium in the form of a cosmic egg, seed, fruit, flower or other symbolic object, which is often eaten by the mythic representative of the earth-mother—the latter being represented by Rhea welcoming Cronus = the Heaven in the

accompanying illustration. With her head to the west, she has much the same position as the Egyptian earth-god Seb as sometimes pictured in association with Nut, the goddess of the heaven (see especially Lanzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia*, Plates CLVI-CLXIII; Budge, *Gods*, II, Plate opp. p. 96; cf. previous article of this series on "The Cosmic Mouth, Ears and Nose"). According to a very ancient Chinese legend, the great King Scēh came from an egg (apparently for the moon), which was dropped by a swallow (in Chinese, "the dark bird," and so for the night) and eaten whole

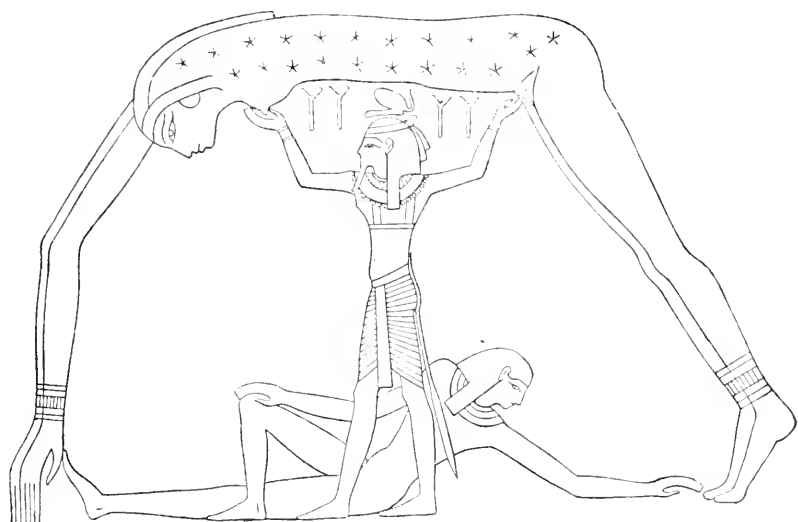


RHEA WELCOMING CRONUS.

(From Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, II, p. 798.)

by Kēēn-teih while she was in bathing (as if in the western division of the earth-surrounding ocean—Legge, Prefatory Note to Ode III, Book III, Part IV of the *Shu-King*, where an allusion to this legend is found). In a Peruvian legend there is a like result when the lovely virgin Cavillaca eats a ripe lucina (as if for the sun) which the god Ceniraya produces from himself by transmutation after transforming himself into a beautiful bird (as if for the day sky) and flying up into a lucina tree (*Rites and Laws of the Yncas*, trans. by Markham, p. 125). In the marvelous legend of Taliesin,

the greatest of the Welsh bards, called "Radiant Brow" (for the sun), Taliesin is a reincarnation of Gwion the Little, who had transformed himself into a grain of wheat which was swallowed by Ceridwen in the form of a black hen (for the night). The parents had previously assumed several other forms; and the infant Taliesin was set adrift on the sea (like many other solar figures), being found and rescued on the first day of May (Michelet, *History of France*, II, Append., p. 382). According to Pausanias, the earth-born Agdistis (see above) was a demon so feared by the gods that they mutilated him; and the fertilized earth brought forth an al-



NUT BENDING OVER SEB.

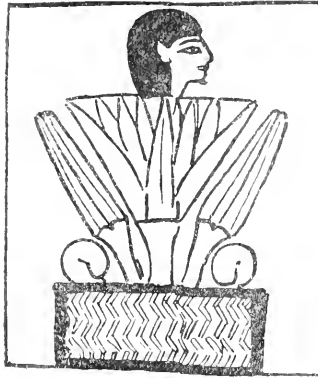
supported by Shu. (From Budge, *The Mummy*, p. 292.)

mond-tree with ripe fruit, from some of which, plucked and embosomed by a daughter of the river Sangarius, came the solar Attis (or Atys) of Phrygia, who was exposed and nurtured by a he-goat (VII, 17, 5). But according to Arnobius, on the authority of Timotheus, Agdistis was a monster who became intoxicated and self-mutilated through a stratagem of Bacchus, whence the earth produced a pomegranate tree which immediately blossomed and bore fruit, Attis owing his origin to a single pomegranate (for the sun) plucked and embosomed by Nanna, daughter of the Sangarius (*Adv. Gent.*, V, 6; cf. 42, where we are told that Attis was identified with the sun). In the myth of Persephone, abducted by Hades

or Pluto, Zeus grants that she shall return for all time to the upper world if she has had no food below; but she has eaten the seeded part of a pomegranate, and is therefore doomed to spend one third or one half of the year with Hades—for the winter season (Apollod., I, 5, 1; Ovid, *Mct.*, 565). The original of the forbidden fruit of Genesis was perhaps the pomegranate, the Latin *malum granatum* = apple with many seeds; and the seedy characteristic of the fruit, taken in connection with its globular shape and yellowish-red hue, made it an appropriate symbol of the setting sun as the cosmic inseminating intermedium. In Norse mythology, the first of the mighty Volsungs came from an apple sent from the abode of the gods to an aged and childless royal couple, the bearer being a celestial maiden transformed into a crow (for the night); but the accounts differ as to whether the king or the queen ate the apple, and whether Odin or Freya sent it (see *Volsungasaga*; Thorpe, *North. Mythol.*, I, p. 92; Cox and Jones, *Popular Romances of the Middle Ages*, "Story of Sigmund and Signy"). The Hindu Ayonija came from a certain wonderful fruit supplied by a yogi (miracle-working ascetic) for the wife of Vidyananda; but the latter ate it himself and produced the beautiful boy, "radiant like the disk of the sun" (Goldstücker, *Sansc. Dict.*, s. v. Ayonijeswara). According to some, Bacchus (Dionysus) transformed himself into a bunch of grapes with Erigone (Ovid, *Mct.*, VI, 125; Hygin., *Fab.*, 130).

The Egyptian lotus floated on the Nile, and every day unfolded its radiating petals as the sun rose in the heaven, and folded them again as he descended in the west—so appearing to honor the sun, as Proclus has it (MS Comment on Plato's *Alcibiades*, in Taylor's *Iamblichus*, App., p. 302). It is a symbol of the rising sun, according to Budge (*Gods*, I, pp. 521, 522); but it is equally appropriate for that luminary in his setting. Ra, the sun-god, was born of a lotus, according to some, and some said that Isis was inseminated by this flower (Bonwick, *Eg. Bel.*, pp. 243, 244—and the earth was considered the body of Isis, according to Plutarch, *De Iside*, 38). Fo-hi, the traditional founder of the Manchu empire of China, had his origin from a lotus with its coral (red) fruit, which was found and eaten by a nymph when bathing in a river—or from a rainbow that surrounded the virgin (Thornton, *History of China*, I, pp. 21, 22; Squier, *Serpent Symbol*, p. 184, note). The primordial deity of the Thlinket Indians of British Columbia was Yehl (= Crow, apparently for the night). Before the universal deluge he effected his first incarnation through the medium

of a small pebble in a draught of sea water swallowed by a certain widow (as if for the earth at night as in winter). For his second incarnation, before light was given to mankind, he transformed himself into a blade of grass, which was swallowed in a cup of drinking-water by a young girl; and as a child he successively released the stars, moon and sun from the boxes in which his maternal grandfather had concealed them (Bancroft, *Native Races*, III, pp. 100, 101). The Hottentot god Heitzi-eibib is sometimes considered a bull, sometimes a man; and in both forms his origin is attributed to blades of grass, which were eaten by a cow in one legend, while in another a girl chews them and swallows the juice (Hahn, *Tsunigoam*, p. 69). The mythical blades of grass are probably symbols



THE LOTUS RISING FROM THE WATER,

with the head of the sun-god emerging from it. (From the Papyrus of Paqer, Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, Chap. LXXXI, B, vignette; from Budge, *Book of the Dead*, ed. 1901, II, p. 264.)

of light rays, from the sun or moon. In a Russian story there are twin boys, one with the moon on his forehead, the other with a star (for the sun) on his neck; and after they are killed by being buried alive (in the underworld), a gold and a silver sprout (for rays from the sun and moon respectively) grow from their graves and are eaten by a sheep which in consequence produces two lambs, marked like the boys. Then the mother of the boys eats the intestines of the lambs, and her sons are thus reincarnated (Manasseff, *Russian Popular Stories*, III, 7).

According to some, Hera (Juno) engendered Ares (Mars), and also Hephæstus (Vulcan), by smelling or touching a certain flower which had been tested with success on a sterile cow; while

others said that she produced Mars, and Hebe, by eating lettuce at the table (for the earth) of the sun-god Apollo (Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 225; Apollod., I, 3, 2, 7, and see Anthon, *Biblioth. Class.*, s. v. Juno; for a Hindu story of parthenogenesis through the smelling of a properly fertilized flower, see *Indian Antiquary*, XI, p. 290). In the *Vishnu Purana* (IV, 7), Jamadagni and Viswamitra owe their origin to two dishes of consecrated food prepared by Richika and eaten respectively by his wife and her mother.

The Sia Indians of New Mexico say that their hero Poshaiyanne was the son of a parthenogenous mother who ate two pinon nuts (*Report Bur. Ethnol.*, XI, 59). According to some, after Dionysus Zagreus had been cut to pieces, his heart (as the seat of the soul) was pounded up and given in a potion to Semele, thus effecting his reincarnation (Hyginus, *Fab.*, 167); while others fabled that Zeus swallowed the heart and begat Dionysus again by Semele (Proclus, *Hymn to Minerva*; cf. Pausan., VIII, 37, 3). In the ancient Egyptian tale of "Anpu and Bata," the latter draws out his heart or soul and places it upon a flower of an acacia tree. After this tree is cut down, Bata's soul enters a sacred bull, and when the bull is slain, the soul enters a Persea tree. This, too, is cut down, and a splinter from it flies into the mouth of Bata's widow, an Egyptian princess; Bata himself thus being reincarnated, to become king of Egypt (*Records of the Past*, II, pp. 145-152). The Chinese *She-King* alludes to a very ancient legend according to which Keang Yuen, a barren wife, engendered How-tseih, the father of the Chinese race, by simply treading "upon a toe-print made by God" (Part I, Book XV, Ode I, Legge's trans.).

In one view the wind is the breath or spirit of the cosmic man or father-god. Hephæstus, son of Hera, was engendered by the wind, according to Lucian (*De Sacrif.*, 6). The Teutonic earth-mother Hertha or Ertha (whence our "earth") was said to be fecundated by the "active spirit" (Knight, *Anc. Art and Mythol.*, p. 21). The Mexican solar-god of the air, Quetzalcoatl (= Feathered Snake), was begotten by the breath of the supreme deity Tonacatecotle when the latter sent a celestial messenger to announce the event to the parthenogenous mother, sometimes called Sochiquetzal = Queen of heaven (Bancroft, *Native Races*, III, p. 272; Kingsborough, *Mex. Antiq.*, VI, pp. 175, 176—where it is said that Sochiquetzal was in her house with only her two sisters, both of whom died of fright at beholding the angelic visitor). According to variant accounts, Quetzalcoatl was the son of Mixcoatl, the cloud-serpent, the spirit of the tornado (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III,

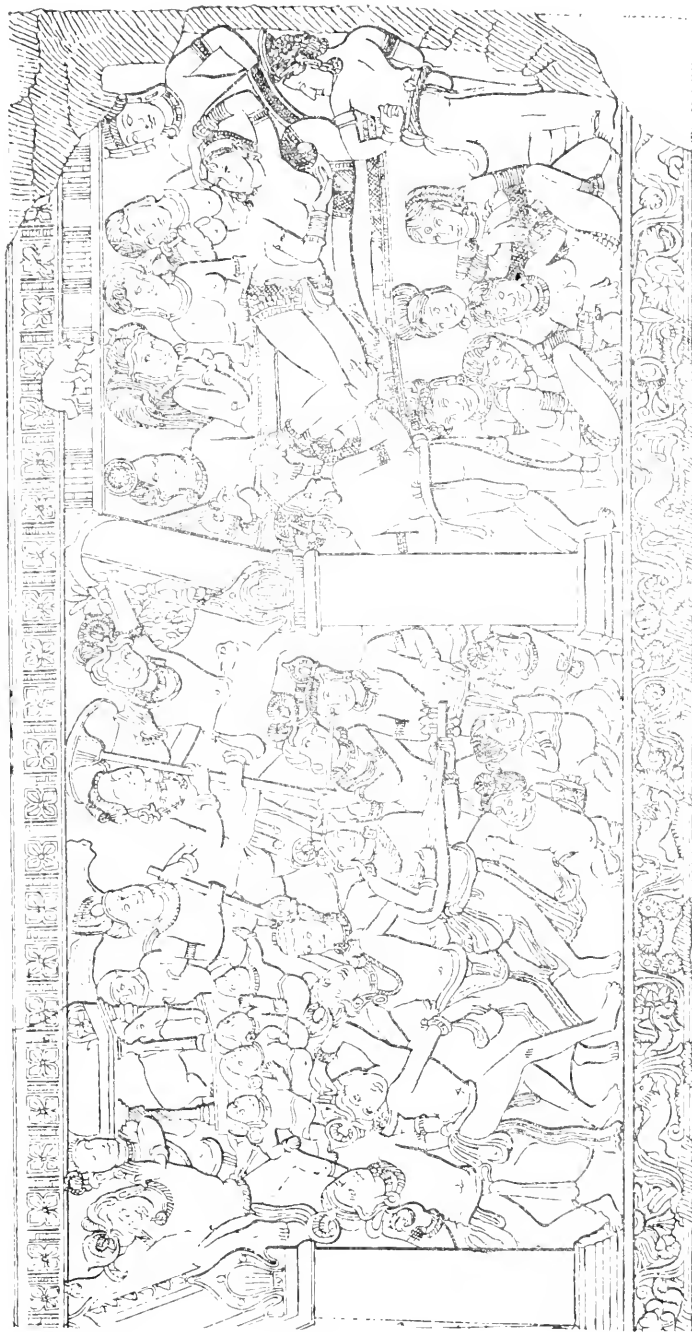


p. 268), or he was engendered by Chimalma when she picked up a certain small green stone (*ibid.*, p. 250). Among the North American Indians, several man-gods are the first-born sons of Manitou, the great and good Spirit (Squier, *Serpent Symbol*, p. 191, etc.). According to the *Fo-sho-hing-tsun-king*, a Chinese life of Gautama Buddha, he owed his origin to "the spirit" that descended on Maya (an indevirginate wife), and came forth from her right (= eastern) side (I, 1). In the Finnish *Kalevala*, the wizard Vainamoinen is a son of the virgin Ilmatar and the east wind (Runes I, XLV); while the Minahassers of Celebes claim to be descended from the west wind and an East Indian girl (Schwarz, *Ind. Arch.*, XVIII, p. 59). The horse, from its swiftness, is a common symbol of the wind, and wind-gods are frequently represented as or associated with horses. According to Homer, Boreas, the north wind, in the form of a horse was the progenitor of the twelve winds in the form of mares, by some of the three thousand mares of Erichthonius (perhaps cloud figures—*Il.*, XX, 221-228); but in Hesiod, Boreas is brother of Zephyrus (the west wind), Notus (the south wind) and Hesperus (the evening star—*Theog.*, 379). Zephyrus is poetically said to produce the flowers and fruits by the sweetness of his breath; and it was supposed that certain swift horses, especially those of Lusitania (in the extreme west of southern Europe, the modern Spain and Portugal), were engendered when the brood-mares inhaled the west wind (Pliny, *H. N.*, VIII, 67; Virgil, *Georg.*, III, 274-275; Varro, II, 1, 18; 7, 7; Columella, VI, 27, 29; cf. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, XXI, 5, of Cappadocian horses). In Egypt, the vulture was the symbol of Nekhebet, goddess of the south; of Neith, as goddess of the west, and of other goddesses identified with Nekhebet (Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 372; I, pp. 438, 450), and it was probably through the association of these goddesses with the south and west that all vultures came to be considered females fecundated by the wind (see Horapollo, *Hieroglyph.*, I, 11; Ælian, II, 56—the latter referring the fecundation of vultures to Notus, the south or southwest wind). Origen refers to the parthenogenesis of several kinds of creatures, including vultures, in evidence of the credibility of the miraculous conception of Jesus (*Contra Cels.*, I, 37). Neith is the great goddess who produced all things including the sun-god Ra, originally by abiogenesis (see above), thus being the Egyptian prototype of the parthenogenous mother of mythology (Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 462); and it is not improbable that some, at least in later

times, imagined that she was fecundated by the wind or cosmic spirit.

The Greek and Roman naturalists generally held that partridges were generated by the action of the air (Aristot., *Hist. An.*, V, 5; Pliny, *H. N.*, X, 51; Ælian, *De Anim.*, XVII, 15); while some supposed that all infertile eggs were thus originated, whence they were called "wind eggs" or "zephyr eggs" (Aristot., *H. A.*, VI, 2, 10; X, 6, 2; *Gen. An.*, III, 1, 5; Pliny, *H. N.*, X, 80, etc.). According to the Orphic cosmogony, Night alone first produced a wind egg, from which Eros was hatched—i. e., the primordial Love or Desire came from the unfertilized cosmic egg or celestial sphere (*Orphic Hymns*, V; Aristoph., *Av.*, 695). The first king of Northern Gaoli (in China) was the son of a maid slave by an influence which she felt to be like air in the form of an egg (Ross, *Corea*, p. 121). The Egyptians believed that a human being might be engendered by a divine spirit (Plutarch, *Numa*, 7), and the Hindus attributed the same power to evil spirits or ghosts (Wheeler, *Hist. Ind.*, II, p. 515). The Algonquin women who desired offspring flocked to the side of a dying person in hope of begetting them by the departing soul (Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 270). On the suggestion of Gen. vi. 4, it was held by some of the Jews that the giants were the offspring of the fallen angels and the daughters of men (*Book of Enoch*, XV, 8, 9; *Clementine Homilies*, VIII, 15-20); while some of the early Christians referred the origin of demons directly to the fallen angels and the daughters of men (Justin Martyr, II *Apol.*, 5, etc.). It was a common belief in the Middle Ages that daughters of men might have offspring by angels, devils, demons, incubi and ghosts (see Inman, *Ancient Faiths*, pp. 273-277, etc.); and some held that the Antichrist would be engendered by Satan or an evil spirit (Lactant., *Div. Inst.*, VIII, 17, etc.).

The Buddhists believed that human beings could be generated not only by apparitions, perfumes, foods, etc., but also by a touch, a look or the sound of the voice (Hardy, *Legends of the Buddhists*, p. 161—the five senses, of smelling, tasting, feeling, seeing and hearing, all being included). A simple look is thus efficacious in the story of the ascetic Pulastya and Trinavindu's daughter, in the *Ramayana* (VII, 2), and also in one account of the genesis of Genghis Khan (Radloff, III, p. 82). According to the *Vishnu Purana* there was a like result when King Jyamagha merely said to his aged and barren wife Saibya that a certain young girl would be wife to the future son of Saibya (IV, 12); and Pliny records



DESCENT FROM HEAVEN AND INCARNATION OF BUDDHA IN ELEPHANT FORM.

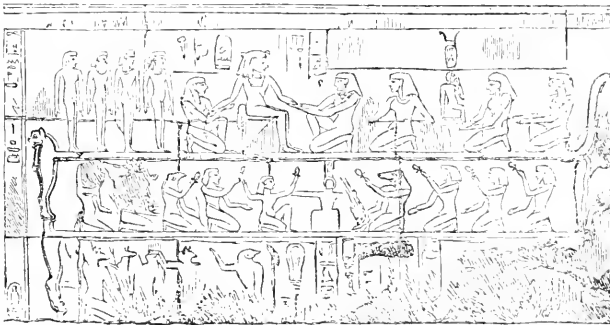
Sculpture from Amravati, India.

(From Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Plate LXXIV.)

the belief that partridges very often originate from the voice of the males, although generally from the action of the air (X, 51, and see above). The barren Hannah silently prayed that she might have a son (1 Sam. i. 11-13), and Clement of Alexandria says that "upon her merely conceiving the thought, conception was vouchsafed of the child Samuel" (*Strom.*, VI, 12). In a mystic refinement of the idea of a procreative transporting agent between heaven and earth, the Orphic male Metis (= Counsel or Wisdom) is called "the seed-bearer of the gods" (*Orphic Hymns*, Frags. VI, 19; VIII, 2). The Hindu god of wisdom is Ganesa, in the form of an elephant, or with an elephant's head on a man's body; "Buddha signifies "Enlightened (with wisdom)," and Gautama Buddha is fabled to have come from heaven to be born of the virgin-wife Maya, either mounted on a white elephant (*Fa-Hien*, XXII), or in the form of a white elephant which illumined all the universe (*Buddha-karita of Asvaghosha*, I, 19, 20), and which Maya saw in a dream, according to some (*Fo-pen-hing-tsi-king*, in Beal, *Romantic History of Buddha*, p. 37—this dream being a favorite subject of Buddhist artists; see Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, Plates LXXIV and XCI, fig. 4). It is generally held that the elephant entered the left side of Maya, and that Buddha came forth from her right side—in which view Maya has the character of the earth-mother in connection with the setting sun (on the left) and the rising sun (on the right), just as Ra is said to have been produced from the right side of Neith (Bonwick, *Eg. Bel.*, p. 107).

The Egyptians believed that the solar Ra or Amen-Ra assumed the form of their reigning king, or incarnated himself in the royal husband, when the divine-human son was engendered (Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 329). In a Luxor representation of the generation and birth of Amenhotep III, it is Amen-Ra himself who, according to the text, announces the facts of the case to the mother, Mut-em-ua (Mautmes), and tells her that their son shall be named Amenhotep and shall grow up to be king of Egypt, "ruling the two lands like the sun": while in the sculptured scenes, Thoth appears as the divine recorder and messenger to the queen, who is shown (subsequently) receiving "life" from Khnemu and Hathor—with the birth and adoration of the child following (Sayce, *Rel. Anc. Eg. and Bab.*, p. 250, note 2, etc.). Theagenes the Thracian hero was reputed to be a son of the solar Heracles, who visited his mother in phantom form, in the likeness of her husband Timosthenes (Pausan., VI, 11, 2). According to a legend preserved by Philostratus, Apollonius of Tyana was a reincarnation of "Proteus, the Egyptian god," the latter having

announced the fact to the mother before the birth of Apollonius (*Vit. Apollon.*, I, 6—the Greek Proteus, who could assume all shapes, perhaps here representing Ra as the transformer); and we saw above that the annunciation of the incarnation of the Mexican god Quetzalcoatl was made to his mother by a celestial messenger or angel (cf. also the messenger from Oramazes in the fable of the genesis of Zoroaster by a heavenly light, as above cited). In other stories the annunciation is made to the husband of the mother.



PARTHENOGENESIS OF AMENHOTEP III (above)  
ADORATION OF THE DIVINE-HUMAN CHILD (below).

From Luxor.

the latter sometimes being parthenogenous. Shortly after the death of Plato, who is said to have been born on the birthday of Apollo, it was held that he was a son of that solar god and Perictione, virgin-wife of Ariston: the philosopher's nephew Speusippus being cited among other authorities for the claim, by Diogenes Laertius (*Vita Platonis*, 1). According to Apuleius (*De Dogmate Platonis*, 1), followed by Hesychius and Olympiodorus (each in his *Life of Plato*), it was said that Apollo came to Perictione in visionary

form (i. e., as a phantom, spirit or ghost), and that he also appeared to Ariston in a dream, enjoining him not to approach his wife until after the birth of her son—which injunction the foster-father obeyed. Plutarch (*Sympos.*, VIII, 1) and Diogenes Laertius (*loc. cit.*) tell only of the god's appearance in a vision to Ariston, who receives and obeys the injunction. In the original story of Ariston's vision, Apollo doubtless announced himself as the progenitor of Plato, and in all probability it was the wisdom of the philosopher which suggested that he was a son of the wise god of prophecy. Thus, too, Iamblichus tells us that Epimenides, Eudoxis and Xenocrates held that the wise Pythagoras was a son of Apollo (Pythius): the story being that the god announced the genesis of this philosopher to his foster-father Mnesarchus through the Pythian Oracle at Delphi, whence the mother's name was changed from Parthenis (= Virgin) to Pythais, while her son was called Pythagoras to signify that he had been predicted by the Pythian Apollo: and the Oracle also predicted that Pythagoras "would be of the greatest advantage to the human race in everything relating to the life of man." Iamblichus doubts the truth of this story, as well as the variant beliefs that Pythagoras was an incarnation of the Hyperborean Apollo, or of Apollo Pæon, or of some other god or celestial figure; but he says that it is to be inferred from the wisdom of Pythagoras that his soul "was sent from the empire of Apollo, either being an attendant on the god, or coarranged with him in some other more familiar way" (*Vit. Pythag.*, 2 and 6).

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

## THE ORIGIN OF THE CHURCH.

BY WM. WEBER.

AT no time in our national history, the Church has exercised greater political power than at present. The Eighteenth Amendment is a monument to the zeal and perseverance of our ecclesiastical organizations which, for many decades, made strenuous efforts to prohibit the manufacture, sale and use of alcoholic beverages. This victory is, of course, only the first step in a much more comprehensive movement the aim of which is to transform our temporal government into an agent of the Church. That is by no means a new and unheard-of ambition. The Church has claimed at all periods more or less insistently control over the State. She believes to be entitled thereto on account of her divine origin which confers upon her divine authority. Such an authority is conceded indeed also to the State, but only on condition that the latter consent to act as the obedient servant of the Church.

There are two ways to approach the problem presented to us by the attitude of the Church. One is to decide after careful examination in each case whether the demand made by the Church upon the State is consistent with the basic principles of the Christian religion. But this method is rather unsatisfactory. For as long as the Church enjoys divine authority, she will overrule all such investigations as infringing upon her sacred rights. Therefore, one must tackle first of all the fundamental principle and decide, if possible, whether the Church is endowed, by virtue of her origin, with divine authority or not. If she should prove to be, not a divine, but merely a human institution, even the most enthusiastic representatives of the Church would be forced to consider very critically each and all of her claims, demands and precepts. For all human institutions, even those of a religious character, are subject to human imperfections, shortcomings and abuses, and in constant need of reform.

For this reason, I desire to study as a truth-seeking historian, the data as to the origin of the Church contained in the New Testament.

The Greek word used in the New Testament for Church is *ecclesia*. Being regarded as a specifically Christian term, a kind of proper name, it was adopted by the Latins. *Ecclesia*, or its English equivalent, denotes the visible organized body of Christian believers in their entirety as well as any major or minor division or local unit.

The noun was in classical Greek a political, not a religious term. It meant an assembly of the citizens regularly summoned, or a legislative assembly. In this sense, it occurs thrice in the New Testament (Acts xix. 32, 39, 41) in the account of how Demetrius, the silversmith of Ephesus, and his guild-brethren tried to stop the work of St. Paul. The early Christians, however, derived the word not from classical but from Hellenistic Greek as current among the Jews of the Diaspora. In the Septuagint, *ecclesia* stands for a Hebrew noun of much wider application. It signifies any assembly, convocation or congregation, either specially convoked, for evil counsel, civil affairs, military operations, religious purposes, or an organized body, as the people of Israel, the restored community in Jerusalem, the angels, etc.

*Ecclesia* was not used from the beginning for the body of Christian believers. While the day of Pentecost is generally considered as the birthday of the Church, the first people who joined the Apostles were called "they that received his word" (Acts ii. 41), "all that believed" (Acts ii. 44), "the multitude of them that believed" (Acts iv. 32), and "the disciples" (Acts vi. 1). *Ecclesia* appears first in the story of Ananias and Sapphira (Acts v. 11). But the question is at what time that account received its present form. In any case, the Apostle Paul employs the term so frequently and constantly in his Epistles that he may be its father, especially as neither the First nor the Second Epistle of St. Peter contains the word. *Ecclesia* being a specific Christian term, it is a mistake to use Acts vii. 38 the expression "the church in the wilderness."

If the above-given definition and explanation come anywhere near being correct, one could hardly expect to find *ecclesia* in its Christian meaning in the Gospels. As a matter of fact, it does not occur at all in Mark, Luke and John. But it is found in Matt. xvi. 13-20 and xviii. 15-18. The former passage contains the famous statement ascribed to Jesus: "Thou art Peter, and upon



this rock I will build my Church," which claims our chief attention. But for just that reason it is advisable first to examine the second passage, which reads:

"If thy brother sin against thee, go, show him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he hear thee not, take with thee one or two more, that at the mouth of two witnesses or three every word may be established. And if he refuse to hear them, tell it unto the ecclesia: and if he refuse to hear the ecclesia also, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican. Verily I say unto you, what things soever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and what things soever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

Our translations have in both instances the noun *church* instead of *ecclesia*. But it seems to me safer to retain the Greek term until its true meaning in this instance has been ascertained.

The just-quoted words are evidently a juridical rule, regulating the conduct and procedure of a party wronged by one of his neighbors in his efforts to obtain redress from the party who inflicted the wrong. It also provides punishment of the evil-doer in case he should refuse to make amends. There are three steps to be taken, one after the other if necessary. The first is a private interview. If that proves unavailing, the plaintiff is to call upon the defendant with one or two witnesses in whose presence he is to discuss his complaint. If his adversary still declines to satisfy him, he is to be summoned before the ecclesia. If he remains unrepentant even there, the ecclesia is to excommunicate him. For that is meant by: "Let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican." A pious Jew held intercourse with Gentiles and publicans a great sin. Excommunication was the severest punishment that could be inflicted upon a Jew. It rendered him an outcast for time and eternity. For as the final clause explains, the judgment of the ecclesia was sure of being ratified by God himself.

Nothing is said directly about forgiving the offender. But he evidently was to be forgiven as soon as, at any of the three stages of the proceeding against him, he would repent in word and deed. The Jews insisted upon forgiving in such cases, as we learn, e. g., from the *Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs* where we have the commandment: "If he admit and repent, forgive him" (Test. Gad, VI). That is why the passage has been incorporated in a collection of sayings of Jesus which treat of forgiving.

We must not overlook, however, the spirit of the words under

discussion. It is certainly not that of Jesus but that of the Old Testament. There we are told: "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth!" and: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy!" The precept of Jesus: "Love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, bless them that curse you, pray for them that despitefully use you!" is entirely out of harmony with such a detailed instruction as how to make an enemy come to terms or suffer the consequences as given in Matt. xviii. 15-18.

Matt. xviii. 21-22 relates: "Peter came and said to him, Lord, how often shall my brother sin against me and I forgive him? Until seven times? Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, Until seven times; but, Until seventy times seven." Nothing suggests here the idea of a forgiving dependent upon repentance on the part of the offender. Jesus clearly prescribes unconditional forgiveness, which is confirmed by his well-known saying: "To him that smiteth thee on the one cheek, offer also the other." To forgive our debtors as we desire to be forgiven by God, is an essential, fundamental part of the ethical code of the religion of Jesus Christ. This can be proved also by St. Paul, if additional proof were needed. He writes Rom. xii. 19-21: "Avenge not yourselves, beloved. . . . But if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him to drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head. Be not overcome of evil; but overcome evil with good." We are, therefore, compelled to see in Matt. xviii. 15-18, not a saying of Jesus, but a strictly Jewish ordinance, originally drawn up by some rabbi, which the compiler of our section of the First Gospel mistook for a word of Jesus.

The passage presents other indications in support of that conclusion. There is first, although a minor item, the direct reference to Deut. xix. 15 in the clause "that at the mouth of two witnesses or three every word may be established." It was not exactly a habit of Jesus to render his precepts more acceptable to his fellow-countrymen by referring to the Old Testament. On the contrary, he did not hesitate to place his commandments directly in opposition to those of the old covenant. That is shown by the formula: "Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time. . . .but I say unto you." For, as he himself explained: "No man putteth new wine into old wine-skins."

Of much greater importance in determining the religious character of our passage is the punitive clause: "Let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican." As a law-abiding Jew Jesus refrained from entering into personal intercourse with Gentiles and

advised his disciples to do the same (Matt. x. 5). But it is a well-attested fact that he cherished and sought intimate relations with publicans. They were to him lost sheep of the house of Israel, whom he had come to seek and to save. The Pharisees, who ostracized their countrymen that had become officers of the Roman government, criticized Jesus most severely for his attitude toward those renegades. They sneered at him: "Behold a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners!" In spite of that opposition, Jesus continued to the end of his life to accept and even to ask for the hospitality of publicans (Luke xix. 1-10). A man who did not hesitate to eat and drink with publicans cannot have commanded his disciples to treat their unrepentant enemies as if they were publicans. The single word "publican" puts the seal of Pharisaism upon our passage.

The last sentence: "Verily I say unto you, What things soever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and what things ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven," emphasizes how far-reaching and serious an excommunication by the ecclesia is. It is binding for time and eternity, before men and God. W. C. Allen (*International Critical Commentary, St. Matthew*) states: "It means that the decision of the community regarding what is or is not justifiable in its members must be regarded as final." That is a perfectly correct comment. But, just for that reason the words cannot belong to Jesus but must have been spoken by the scribe who first drew up the juridical rule. Matt. xviii. 18 illustrates Matt. xxiii. 13, where Jesus says: "Woe, unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye shut the kingdom of God against men." We hear indeed a good deal about the power of the keys of the Church. But the man who denied that the scribes and Pharisees were entitled to shut the kingdom of God against men and who neither claimed nor exercised that power himself, cannot have conferred it upon his Apostles. Jesus had not come to condemn but to save sinners. He did not retain sins but forgave them. He instructed his disciples: "Judge not, and ye shall not be judged; condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned; release, and ye shall be released" (Luke vi. 37).

In accordance with that precept and the example of Jesus, we believe in religious liberty and expect everybody to obey his individual conscience and be faithful to his own convictions no matter what the community may think or how it may judge. No majority, however imposing, no authority, however powerful, has the right of judging and condemning dissenters. No punishment inflicted

upon them can ever demonstrate their guilt. Crucifixion did not brand Jesus a false prophet; the lions did not prove the Christian martyrs to be wicked atheists; being burned at the stake did not make John Huss an enemy of God and Christ.

As soon as we recognize the strictly Jewish character of our passage, the meaning of *ecclesia* in Matt. xviii. 17 becomes clear. The Palestinian Jews of the New Testament age enjoyed local self-government. On two days of the week the people of the town or village were called together for regulating the temporal affairs of the community, including dispensation of justice. These meetings were conducted by the presbyters, or elders. In case of trouble between neighbors, the elders would hear the witnesses and pass judgment according to certain rules and precedents, such as Matt. xviii. 15-18. These town meetings were called by the Hebrew noun which the Septuagint renders *ecclesia*. The latter word is, therefore, to be translated "assembly."

Having disposed of *ecclesia* in Matt. xviii, we can concentrate our attention upon Matt. xvi. 17-19, an infinitely more important passage. It is an apparently integral part of Matt. xvi. 13-20, which belongs to the Synoptic source and has its parallels in Mark viii. 27-30 and Luke ix. 18-21. The pericope is called St. Peter's Confession and is supposed to record when the twelve disciples realized for the first time the true character of their teacher. In reply to that welcome confession, Jesus promised to build his Church upon St. Peter the rock and give him the keys of the kingdom of heaven. In other words, the leader of the Twelve is appointed head and ruler of the Church.

The date of that confession can be fixed approximately. It was followed within a few days by the Transfiguration which Matthew and Mark place six days and Luke about eight days after the Confession (Matt. xvii. 1, Mark ix. 2, Luke ix. 28). The transfiguration confirmed the belief of the disciples in the Messiahship of Jesus and occurred shortly before the pilgrimage to Jerusalem (cf. 2 Pet. ii. 16ff). It has been said St. Peter's confession marks the end of the preparatory work of Jesus. Nevertheless, it is more than doubtful whether the Apostles became first aware of his Messianic mission at so late a date. According to the clear account in John, the disciples joined Jesus because they believed him to be the Messiah from the very beginning. John the Baptist had pointed out Jesus to two of his followers saying: "Behold the lamb of God!" (John i. 36). Andrew, one of the two, induced his brother Simon to become a disciple of Jesus by announcing to him:

"We have found the Messiah" (John i. 41). Philip, another disciple of Jesus, invited Nathanael to join their master, telling him: "We have found him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets wrote, Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Joseph" (John. i. 45). The new convert confessed when he met Jesus: "Rabbi, thou art the Son of God, thou art King of Israel" (John i. 49).

Although the Synoptic Gospels do not confirm the testimony of John directly and explicitly, it must be considered as historical on general principles. The Twelve cannot have accepted the call of Jesus without definite knowledge as to what it implied. They had to earn a living for themselves and their families. Such men do not as a rule quit their work and leave their homes in order to follow a stranger who has not where to lay his head. We may credit the contemporaries of Jesus in Palestine with the greatest possible thirst after religious knowledge and instruction; but we must not forget that thirst could be slacked by attending the synagogue and listening to the scribes without being compelled to become homeless wanderers.

What great inducement could lead the disciples to accept the invitation of Jesus to become his followers? The honor of forming the body-guard of the Messiah. While the first three Gospels do not state this in express terms, they connect the work of Jesus closely with that of the Baptist. The latter is the immediate forerunner of the Messiah (Matt. iii. 11; Mark i. 7f; Luke iii. 21f). They imply unmistakably in the account of the baptism of Jesus that the Baptist recognized Jesus as the promised Messiah (Matt. iii. 13-17; Mark i. 9-11; Luke iii. 21-22; cf. Matt. xi. 2ff). He must have told his most intimate followers what he had learned of Jesus. Hence, the statements of John i. may and must be used in explaining the corresponding narratives of the Synoptic Gospels. The words of St. Peter, Luke v. 2-11: "Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord," are to be understood as the fisherman's confession that he knew who Jesus was but considered himself unworthy of his companionship. Belief in the Messiahship of Jesus alone accounts for the readiness of his followers to leave and give up everything in order to consort with him. The reward, awaiting them in the kingdom of heaven, outweighed every other consideration (cf. Matt. xix. 27f, xx. 20-28; Mark x. 35-45). The first disciples' belief in the Messianic mission of Jesus was not the fruit of their long-continued intercourse with him, but rather the reason why they attached themselves to him right at the beginning of his career. That important fact, combined with the other that the words

in question are not found in the parallel accounts of Mark and Luke, compel us to examine the three versions of our pericope very carefully.

Matthew and Mark locate the so-called Confession in the neighborhood of Cæsarea Philippi, while no place is mentioned in Luke ix. 18. But otherwise the text of the Second Gospel coincides more closely with that of the Third. Both employ the same compound verb (Mark viii. 27 and Luke ix. 18) to express the idea of "ask" where in Matt. xvi. 13 the simple verb is used. According to Matthew, Jesus is said to be: John the Baptist, Elijah, Jeremiah or one of the prophets; in Mark and Luke only John the Baptist, Elijah or one of the prophets are mentioned. The First Gospel seems to contain an enlarged edition of the original text. That appears also in the first question of Jesus and the second answer of Peter. Mark viii. 27 reads: "Who do men say that I am?" Luke ix. 18: "Who do the multitudes say that I am?" but Matt. xvi. 14: "Who do men say that the Son of Man is?" In Mark viii. 27, the spokesman of the Twelve says: "Thou art the Christ," in Luke ix. 20: "The Christ of God," whereas in Matt. xvi. 16 we read: "Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God." In these cases, the text vouched for by the Second and Third Gospels is, of course, more authentic than that of the first.

If we apply that text-critical rule to our pericope, the whole passage—"And Jesus answered and said unto him, Blessed art thou, Simon, Bar-Jonah! for flesh and blood has not revealed it unto thee, but my Father who is in heaven. And I also say unto thee, Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it. I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."—must be an interpolation. This conclusion is corroborated by the fact that the Confession of St. Peter shortly before the last Passover is out of the question. Moreover, St. Peter did learn that Jesus was the Christ from flesh and blood, namely, from his own brother Andrew, as related John i. 40ff. But before this problem can be settled, it has to be ascertained to which preceding section our pericope belongs.

The present introduction in the first two Gospels is apparently quite satisfactory. But the beginning in the Third Gospel presents a serious difficulty. A literal translation of Luke ix. 18 reads: "It happened while he was praying alone, there were with him his disciples." Modern translators and commentators have been puzzled

by the word "alone." The American Revised Version substitutes "apart" for "alone." But even "apart" does not permit the presence of the disciples, not to mention that "apart" and "alone" are two altogether different words not only in English but also in Greek. Besides, unless the commandment of Matt. vi. 6: "When thou prayest, enter into thine inner chamber, and having shut the door pray to thy Father who is in secret," can be proved to be spurious, Jesus always prayed alone and never in the presence of his disciples. Thus the two statements in Luke, "Jesus was praying alone," and "the disciples were with him," exclude each other. The parallels in Matthew and Mark show that the original introduction of Luke ix. 18-21, if not lost, has to be looked for in the preceding passages. In its present condition Luke ix. 18 is only the bungling attempt of the editor to form some kind of connection between our pericope and the interpolations which interrupt the original context.

Luke ix. 7-10 we read: "Herod the tetrarch heard of all that was done: and he was perplexed because it was said by some, that John the Baptist was risen from the dead: and by some, that Elijah had appeared; and by others, that one of the old prophets had risen again. And Herod said, John I beheaded; but who is this, about whom I hear such things? And he sought to see him. And the apostles when they had returned, declared unto him what things they had done. And he took them and withdrew apart to a city called Bethsaida." The words "he was seeking to see him" imply a murderous threat. In Luke xiii. 31 we are told directly that Herod wanted to kill Jesus. The ominous desire of the tetrarch to meet Jesus induced the latter to look for a hiding-place in the neighborhood of Bethsaida. As Tiberias was Herod's capital, Bethsaida was situated in all probability east of the Sea of Galilee. Verses 18ff thus may be joined directly with verse 10. Or since the first half of verse 18 belongs to the compiler, verse 18 began originally "and he asked them saying." Therefore, according to the Third Gospel, the scene took place near Bethsaida. The word "multitudes," Luke ix. 18, is to be replaced by "men" in conformity with the Matthew and Mark texts. The change was made by the editor who inserted the story of the Feeding of the Multitudes (cf. Luke ix. 11 and 16) into the account of Jesus's flight before Herod. That Luke ix. 7-10 and 18b ff form an organic whole is proved by the identification of Jesus with John the Baptist, Elijah or one of the prophets in verses 7-8 as well as in verse 19. Moreover, if Jesus wanted to conceal himself before the ruler of Galilee and

Perea, he was not followed by any multitudes. Their very number would have frustrated his intention.

Turning to the Second Gospel, we learn Mark vi. 14-15: "And king Herod heard; for his name had become known; and he said, John the Baptist is risen from the dead, and therefore do these powers work in him. But others said, It is Elijah. And others said, It is a prophet, even as one of the prophets." These words point to Mark viii. 27-28 and form a close parallel to the just-discussed Luke text. Verse 16: "And Herod when he heard, said, John whom I beheaded, he is risen,"—superfluous in view of verse 14—indicates that the account of the execution of the Baptist has been derived from another source and has crowded out a statement between verses 15 and 16, to the effect that Herod wanted to get hold of Jesus.

Mark vi. 30-31: "And the apostles gather themselves together unto Jesus, and they told him all things whatsoever they had done, and whatsoever they had taught. And he saith unto them, Come ye yourselves apart in a desert place and rest awhile,"—is the counterpart of Luke ix. 10. Hence, Mark viii. 22a, "and they came unto Bethsaida," has to be considered as the original continuation of the just-quoted passage, which connects in turn directly with verse 27b. As soon as we become aware of these facts, we have to assign Mark viii. 27a, "and Jesus went forth and his disciples into the villages of Cæsarea Philippi," to the compiler who broke up the original text by inserting quite a number of episodes derived from other sources, as the Death of the Baptist, the Feeding of the Five Thousand, Jesus Walks on the Sea, Jesus Visits Gennesaret, Tyre and Sidon, the Decapolis, etc. He had not entirely lost sight of the original connection of Mark vi. 14-15, 30-31, viii. 22a and 27b ff, and supposed Jesus was moving all the time from one place to another in order to escape from Herod. When at a loss where viii. 27-30 had taken place, the name of Cæsarea Philippi occurred to him. For that city was the capital of Philip whose wife his brother Herod had abducted and who, for that reason, would not be inclined to aid Herod in capturing Jesus.

Matt. xvi. 13: "When Jesus came into the parts of Cæsarea Philippi," enables us to decide with confidence that the interpolations were made before the Gospels were translated into Greek. For the verbs "came" and "went forth" as well as the nouns "parts" and "villages" represent the same Hebrew words respectively, as may be learned from the *Concordance to the Septuagint* by Hatch and Redpath. They prove, at the same time, that the Greek trans-



lators of Matthew and Mark were independent of each other. They may have used even different revisions of the Aramaic text, for some variants in Matt. xvi. 13 and Mark viii. 27 existed possibly in Aramaic although we cannot be absolutely sure of that. For instance, the phrase "on the way," Mark viii. 27; is called for by the word "villages." According to Matt. xvi. 20 (cf. Mark viii. 30 and Luke ix. 21), Jesus was alone with his disciples when he asked them what the people said of him. The words "on the way" imply the same fact.

Bethsaida has disappeared altogether from Matt. xiv. 13-xvi.12. The first passage reads simply: "When Jesus heard it, he withdrew from thence in a boat to a desert place apart." That refers to Bethsaida on the eastern shore of the Sea of Galilee. But as the words now stand, they point to the death and burial of the Baptist (Matt. xiv. 3-12). The execution of John is also related in Mark but is not mentioned in the Third Gospel. It must therefore be a later addition to the original text. The so-called Confession of Peter dates quite a while after the death of John the Baptist, as we learn from Matt. xiv. 1-2 (cf. Mark vi. 14f). Matt. xiv. 13a, as quoted above, must have followed directly upon Matt. xiv. 1-2, just as Luke ix. 7-10 is still an organic whole. But in Matthew the equivalent of the words "and he sought to see him" has been omitted by the scribe who added Matt. xiv. 3-12.

This apparently irrelevant digression into the problem of the composition of the Synoptic Gospels serves an important purpose. It proves our pericope to be one of the organic parts of one of the oldest, if not the very oldest, layers of our evangelical tradition: and it represents as such the report of an eye-witness. Its authority is absolute and, in spite of the fact that we possess three, to some extent differing revisions of the original narrative, it is comparatively easy to reconstruct the common, original source in all its essential features.

The three versions are so much alike that there is no room for doubt as to their relationship. Those of the Second and Third Gospels are almost identical. Such slight verbal differences as "He asked his disciples saying unto them" (Mark. viii. 27) and "he asked them saying" (Luke ix. 18): "they told him saying" (Mark viii. 28) and "they answering said" (Luke ix. 19): "and he asked them" (Mark viii. 29) and "but he said unto them" (Luke ix. 20) may be credited to the translators. There are other variations, some of which show that the Aramaic texts used by the Greek translators were not exactly identical. For instance, the closing

sentence reads: "He censured them that they should tell no man of him" (Mark, viii. 30), and "He censured them and commanded to tell that to no man" (Luke ix. 21). The American Revised Version has "charged" instead of "censured." Failing to understand our pericope, the scholars did not know what to do with the correct meaning of the Greek verb.

In any case, the virtual agreement of Mark and Luke enables us to deal summarily with the more important additions to the Matthew text. These are, besides verses 17-19, the first question of Jesus: "Who do men say that the Son of Man is?" and the answer of Simon Peter to the second question: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." Both Mark and Luke have in the first instance simply the pronoun "I"; in the second case Mark reads: "Thou art the Christ," Luke: "The Christ of God." Two contemporary text-witnesses as over against one decide in favor of the natural expressions. Moreover, the First Gospel itself tells us why those changes were made. It was done in order to bring the plain language of the pericope into something like harmony with the stilted style of verses 17-19. There we have such sonorous expressions as Simon Bar-Jonah, flesh and blood, this rock, the gates of Hades, and the keys of the kingdom of heaven. That goes far to prove that the changes in the text of the original pericope were made either when or shortly after verses 17-19 were added.

So far the conclusion that Matt. xvi. 17-19 is an interpolation is based on three facts. First, the passage does not occur in the two other Gospels. Second, St. Peter could not confess his belief in the Messiahship of Jesus for the first time at so late a date because he had cherished that belief from the first moment of his discipleship. Third, as his brother Andrew had first told him that Jesus was the Christ, that knowledge was imparted to him by flesh and blood, not by God. We have now to discover what the pericope tells us about the confession.

The generally accepted explanation of the pericope rests entirely on the Matthew version in its present condition. The two other Gospels have a different story. According to them, Jesus did not ask his disciples: "But who say ye that I am?" because he wanted to find out what his disciples thought of him. He rather wished to hear what they said to the people who regarded Jesus only as a prophet. This follows from the closing statement: "He censured them and commanded to tell this to no man." While "censure" may not be the best translation of the corresponding Greek verb (I have adopted it on the authority of Liddell and Scott) it implies

the idea of finding fault with some one. Why did Jesus criticize his disciples? He could not have found fault with them if Peter had simply told him that he as well as the other disciples believed him to be the Christ. For he rebuked neither the Canaanitish woman, nor the blind man at Jericho, nor the multitudes at his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, nor the children in the Temple, who all hailed him as the Son of David. We are, therefore, compelled to conclude that Jesus censured his disciples because they had told the people that he was the Christ of God. To bring this out more clearly, we might translate Mark viii. 30: "He censured them because they should tell no man of him." We ought not to overlook the plural of the direct object of censure. While the praise of Matt. xvi. 17-19 is bestowed upon St. Peter alone, the blame of Matt. xvi. 20, Mark viii. 30, and Luke ix. 21 is meted out to all disciples without exception. Jesus had sent them forth to preach the kingdom of God (Matt. x. 7, Mark vi. 12, Luke ix. 2), not to enlighten the people willing to listen to them as to his true dignity and proper title. In his judgment, the moment had not arrived as yet when he was to proclaim his Messiahship in public. Hence, he had to rebuke his disciples for their thoughtless indiscretion.

For all these reasons Matt. xvi. 17-19 is entirely out of place in our pericope. Even Matt. xvi. 20 confirms that fact. The temporal adverb "then" at the head of this verse belongs, of course, to the interpolator. He was too faithful to his text to drop the closing sentence although the passage inserted by him excluded and contradicted it. He was evidently unconscious of committing a wrong when he put a current saying, ascribed to Jesus, where he imagined it to belong. But having separated verse 20 from verse 16, he had a subconscious feeling of the lack of connection between verses 19 and 20 and undertook to supply the missing link by the particle "then."

So far it has been demonstrated not only that Matt. xvi. 17-19 does not belong in its present context but also that verse 17 as well as verse 19 are spurious. Jesus cannot have blessed St. Peter for having received a direct divine revelation, nor given him the keys of the kingdom of heaven. It remains to be seen whether verse 18 may have been pronounced by Jesus at some other occasion. The question is not whether Jesus intended to build his Church upon St. Peter, but whether he ever intended to build any church.

It is only necessary to thus formulate the problem in order to solve it. If one thing is certain in the history of Jesus Christ it is the fact that he came to bring the kingdom of God. That

alone excludes the possibility of his ever having established or dreamt of establishing a church. For the two terms are incongruous.

The New Testament idea of the kingdom of God is of Jewish, Old Testament origin. It meant to the contemporaries of Jesus the realization of the reign of righteousness under the rule of the Christ. The moral perfection of all the members of that kingdom and the divine power of its king insured everlasting bliss and happiness: all suffering and even death would be abolished. Jesus came to fulfil the old hope of the pious in Israel. But he differed from the Pharisees in one, if not in two fundamental points. The Pharisees were convinced the kingdom would come as soon as the majority of their nation would obey the law of Moses as interpreted by their religious teachers. Jesus began his work by proclaiming in direct opposition to the scribes and Pharisees an entirely new law, "the Golden Rule." The other important difference is that Jesus, from the beginning, conceived his kingdom, not as one to materialize at some indefinite, future time, but as actually existing in this present world. Luke xvii. 20-21 is the principal locus for that conception. There Jesus is reported to have told the Pharisees who had asked him when the kingdom of God would come: "The kingdom of God cometh not with observation: neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! for lo, the kingdom of God is within you." This saying is vouched for by the Third Gospel alone, but it is supported by such parables as that of the Mustard Seed and the Leaven.

Most modern theologians seem to accept this as the true Christian idea of the Messianic kingdom. We read for instance in Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. II, p. 850a: "The kingdom of God may truly be said to have existed on earth from the first moment of His manifestations," and p. 851b: "From the first, this kingdom in His view could not have been a merely *future* thing, but must have been conceived of as *already existing*."

Still, there are other passages according to which Jesus seems to have shared an eschatological and even grossly materialistic view of the kingdom of God. Luke xxii. 16, e. g., contains the statement: "I say unto you, I shall not drink henceforth of the fruit of the vine, until the kingdom of God shall come." The Matthew version is even stronger: "Verily I say unto you, I shall no more drink of the fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it new in the kingdom of God" (cf. Mark xiv. 25). After the death of Jesus the eschatological conception seems to have prevailed ex-

clusively among the Christians, and this in an ever more materialistic sense until the intellectual leaders of the Gentile Christians grew tired of it.

The problem involved can only be solved by a most patient and painstaking examination of our records in order to determine their origin and authenticity. Possibly the Apostles and their immediate disciples misunderstood or failed to comprehend the remarks of Jesus concerning the kingdom of God. But such an investigation would exceed the limits of this paper. Besides, it is not necessary for our purpose.

If Jesus cherished the ideal conception of his kingdom as formulated in Luke xvii. 20-21, he cannot have thought of the Church. The invisible kingdom, existing in the hearts of his followers, was never intended to become a visible institution. It does not have princes and rulers. The greatest in that kingdom have no other chance of proving their greatness than that of being the humble servants of their fellow men and bearing the cross. The wisest have to practise their superior wisdom by living clean and holy lives. The intellectual leaders are bound to display their better knowledge by remaining steadfast in confessing the truth in the face of opposition and persecution. The rich are poor unless they hold their worldly possessions in trust for their brethren. In such a kingdom there is no room for a hierarchy.

If, on the other hand, Jesus should have regarded his kingdom as one to be realized later on, he was interested even less in the Church. For that kingdom is of a supernatural order and destined to descend from heaven when the time "which the Father hath set within his own authority" is fulfilled. Jesus himself could not hasten its arrival. All he could do was to increase the number of those who accepted from him the true law of that kingdom. That required no organization. Every new convert was expected to win over his friends and acquaintances. Every one could be an apostle. All he had to do was to go from place to place and deliver the message and law of the coming kingdom to the people he met in the course of his wanderings.

As Jesus had no cause nor reason why to establish a church, especially since the very idea of church is opposed to his religious convictions, the whole passage Matt. xvi. 17-19, including verse 18, must be spurious and belong to an age when the Church had discounted the idea of the kingdom of God. Our present knowledge of the origin and gradual development of the Church confirms that conclusion. Edwin Hatch in the *Bampton Lectures* of 1880 has

proved the Gentile Christian congregations to have borrowed their organization from the secular and religious societies of the Greek world to which they belonged. Hatch has also outlined the steps by which the primitive congregations, adopting again a Gentile model, the Roman Empire, have become the Church as we know her. The Church is, therefore, the heathen substitute, or caricature, of the kingdom of God.

Hatch's investigations would have been acclaimed as epoch-making if he had not discouraged any possible application of his deductions by insisting on calling the existing Church a divine institution. For no mortal man, of course, can think of criticizing or changing what God himself has established. *Sit ut est aut non sit!* Divine in this connection is a sorely abused term. In a way, of course, everything exists by the grace of God. That is to say, whatever qualities are found in an individual or institution are to be credited to either the active or passive grace of God. He inspires what is good and suffers what is bad. It is the duty of all who recognize this grace of God to improve what is good and eliminate what is bad as far as this is within their power. But apart from that, the Church is altogether a human institution and as such subject to all the shortcomings and abuses of all things human. If the Church has any special task to perform, it is that of establishing the truth about Jesus, to define ever more clearly and convincingly the true religion of Jesus Christ. This cannot be done by philosophizing about religion in general but only by studying the sources from which alone correct knowledge as to the historical Jesus can be derived. So far the Church has labored to obscure and hide that truth; and all attempts to supersede the authority of the Church by that of Jesus Christ have resulted only in the founding of sectarian bodies which immediately adopted the vicious and, in their case, ridiculous policy of the mother Church.

In closing, I wish to suggest that, according to the well-known *Cui bono*—"For whose benefit"—Matt. xvi. 17-19 must have had its origin in the city of Rome not later than 150 A. D. The only correct interpretation of the passage is that of the Roman Catholic Church. It sanctions all her claims of being the only, infallible and alone-saving Church. Rome presented, especially at the beginning of the Christian era, a very favorable soil for the spontaneous growth of such claims. The inhabitants of that capital of the world demanded quite naturally precedence and leadership on every field of human endeavor. Moreover, people living at Rome could not fail to gain practical and theoretical experience in the art of gov-

erning others and would employ that experience whenever an occasion of doing so presented itself. On the other hand, the people of the provinces were accustomed and willing to acknowledge the supremacy of the capital. These general conditions were supported by the missionary work and martyrdom of both St. Peter and St. Paul in the eternal city. Thus the local patriotism of the Roman Christians very soon must have looked upon the founding of the first congregation of disciples at Rome as an extraordinary event. It became in their estimation the founding of the Catholic Church. It was, of course, taken for granted that Jesus Christ himself had planned and prearranged that event. The Roman Church is the logical heir of all the rights, privileges and prerogatives conferred by Christian gratitude and reverence upon the leader of the Twelve, or rather, all the rights, privileges and prerogatives claimed for the Church at Rome were supposed to have been settled upon St. Peter by Jesus Christ himself.

As to the date when our interpolation was inserted into the First Gospel, we may expect to find it very early. It must have been formulated and gained currency shortly after the founding of the Christian congregation at Rome. Its vocabulary points to a Jewish Christian author. External evidence of the age and general acceptance of Matt. xvi. 17-19 is furnished by Origen, Dionysius, Irenæus and Justin Martyr.

Origen (A. D. 185-253) speaks of Peter upon whom the Church of Christ is built against which the gates of Hades shall not prevail (Eus., *E. H.*, VI, 25, 8). His convert Dionysius, who died A. D. 265 as bishop of Alexandria, quotes Matt. xvi. 17 (Eus., *E. H.*, VII, 25, 10). Thus our passage must have appeared in the received text of the Gospel before the year 200.

Irenæus, who died A. D. 202 as bishop of Lyons, is, as far as I know, the first provincial Christian who advocated the supremacy of the Roman Church. A native of Asia Minor, he had come to the capital about the year 155, whence he afterward moved to Lyons. He must have become convinced during his sojourn at Rome that the claims of the Roman Church were based on the authority of Jesus Christ. Therefore, our passage must have been considered at Rome as genuine about the year 150. It even seems to me as if the quotation from Irenæus in Eus., *E. H.*, V, 8, 2, which is usually translated "whilst Peter and Paul proclaimed the Gospel and founded the Church at Rome," is really a commentary on Matt. xvi. 18. For the original text reads: "Whilst Peter and Paul at Rome were preaching the Gospel and laying the foundation

of the Church." The prepositional phrase "at Rome" stands in the Greek text before the two verbs. If any emphasis should belong to that position, and it ought to, the clause would say that the Church built upon St. Peter the rock did not come into existence until the Prince of the Apostles, assisted by St. Paul, established the Church at Rome.

Our oldest text-witness is Justin Martyr. He writes in the *Dialogue with Tryphon* (100, B): "He surnamed one of his disciples, called Simon before, Peter because he had recognized him by the revelation of his Father as Son of God, Christ." As Justin Martyr died at Rome about the year 163, his testimony proves that the First Gospel with our passage was used by the Roman Christians about the beginning of the second century.



## THE ETHICS OF RATIONALISM.

BY FRANK VINCENT WADDY.

**R**ATIONALISM, the philosophy of agnostics and freethinkers, is frequently attacked by those known as believers on the ground of its alleged lack of ethical standards, said to result from rejection of theological dogma, the adherents to religious precept contending that "faith" is necessary to virtuous life here, and indispensable in securing a comfortable time hereafter.

In support of this argument the lives and habits of certain eminent freethinkers are quoted as evidence of the debasing influence of skepticism upon character; thus Goethe, George Eliot, Paine, Ingersoll and others are favorite material for the criticism of their pious detractors.

These attacks furnish an example of a common logical fallacy, namely, arguing from insufficient data; for it is clear that, even granting the moral deficiency of particular individuals, not all who share their convictions are necessarily vicious. The ethical standard set up by a system of philosophy or religion is independent of the demerits of its followers. In the state prisons are Presbyterian pickpockets, Baptist burglars and Methodist murderers, but the characters of these criminals are not necessarily products of the religious influence under which some of them claim to have been brought up. Evidence from isolated cases is misleading, and attempts to prove the evil influence of mental freedom upon personal morality by this means are futile. It would be equally logical to contend that because a New England minister was convicted of murder some time ago, therefore the profession of religion engenders homicidal tendencies.

The fact is, the truth lies at the mean—that no man is wholly vicious or virtuous, whether atheist, fanatic or somewhere between. Moreover, ethical conduct is determined largely without reference to any system of belief, there being millions of people utterly indifferent to religion who nevertheless live with rectitude and integrity, guided by the natural instinct of sympathy, refraining

from wrong-doing in obedience to the sense of moral obligation bred by expediency in ages past, and entirely without the aid of special deterrents or incentives. Experience shows the results of base conduct and judgment dictates avoidance of it.

Secular teaching is also attacked as a destructive force, tearing down while unable to rebuild, and demolishing the faith of the ages without suggesting anything adequate to take its place. Those who advance this objection overlook the fact that in the nature of the case no substitute is required. If an ancient faith shackles the feet of progress it must be discarded. It is much as if a surgeon who undertakes the cure of an infirmity demanding the use of crutches were asked by the patient what aid he intended to furnish in their place. The surgeon explains that the crutches will not be needed, but the cripple, habituated to their daily use, cannot imagine dispensing with them.

A rationalist, in pointing out the inconsistencies of official religion, is not removing any props of virtue or supplying aid to vice, and if the structure of faith requires modification to bring its tenets into harmony with established truth, that structure can be treated with all reverence during the process. "The abolitionist," says Hawthorne, "brandishing his one idea like an iron flail," will work only havoc and destruction unless he be prepared to furnish something by way of constructive reform. The apostle of free thought should preserve respect for thinkers who have gone before, and facts in theology (if there be any) should appeal to him as strongly as facts in any other branch of study.

An enthusiast is often inconsistent, his ideas being polarized and his outlook limited by preconception. Theists discount or ignore the conclusions of scientific inquiry, while materialists treat with contempt the claims of the spiritual and the phenomena of psychophysiology. Conflicting ideas must be examined with neutrality, unbiased by presuppositions religious or scientific. A rationalist should at all costs be reasonable, and one who is prejudiced or intolerant is irrational.

As to the system of ethical principles demanded as a substitute for the dogmatic creeds, the exercise of moral courage will effectually combat most of life's evils—with no system can man escape them all—and self-respect, in avoidance of what is unworthy or discreditable, will take the place of other deterrents and incentives. Necessity for rewards and punishments vanishes with attainment of full moral stature, much as the need of such inducements falls away upon outgrowing physical childhood.

Conduct should be determined irrespective of reward, beyond that which effort, and nothing else, will bring. High endeavor and single purpose, the pursuit of lofty ideals, indeed all the nobler impulses, will be found independent of polemical questions and incapable of even causing a difference of opinion. The majority of religious argument is upon subjects that do not matter. The brightness of truth, the baseness of wrong, the necessity for sympathy—these things fortunately are not controlled by creeds and are not church monopolies.

The moral force of a noble life cannot be diminished by the exercise of additional self-reliance, which riddance of superstition calls into action, nor will present influence be lessened by discarding errors of the past.

The responsibilities of the rationalists are no greater and no less than those of others, though they see with clearer vision the fallacies of certain teachings. For instance, the doctrine of vicarious suffering or atonement, which implies that man can escape the natural results of his actions, is neither just nor reasonable. It has no rational meaning. A "sin" like any other action must have its results, if it be a causative act; the penalty of such an act is its natural complement, and follows inevitably. Forgiving a sin is a very different matter from undoing it—a feat impossible even with the obliging aid of a god. The teaching that iniquities can be canceled by the simple process of having them forgiven is pernicious as well as untrue, for it gives a license to those accepting it which they would not otherwise have. On the other hand, it has doubtless furnished a profound solace to countless penitents, and is therefore not without utility, even though based upon error. The idea that Jesus or any one else should be punished for one's actions instead of oneself is indeed strange ground for consolation. Such an instance of injustice should rather cause intense displeasure and indignation. The sacrificial atonement of Christ has no reliable historical foundation, but even if it had it would not commend itself, since the blissful state of "heaven" could never be justly known to the sinner while the result of his sins had been to send other people to hell.

An objection sometimes raised against rationalists is that they expect tangible proof for things that can be discerned only spiritually. When a student states his disbelief in certain doctrines he is accused of approaching a spiritual problem with physical weapons. In most cases the empirical thinker is merely making scientific use of his faculties rather than an emotional use of his imagination.

Instead of demanding supersensuous explanation for phenomena incompletely understood, he applies himself to analysis, prepared to exhaust the natural and possible before resorting to the unnatural or seemingly impossible. That which will not bear investigation upon logical lines is not inviting material for spiritual perception—or for any other kind.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### BOOK REVIEWS.

THE SEVENTH SEAL. By *Jeanette Agnes*. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1920. Pp. 177. Price, \$1.25 net.

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